

THE ROLE OF MAJOR EVENTS IN THE
CREATION OF SOCIAL LEGACY: A CASE
STUDY OF THE GLASGOW 2014
COMMONWEALTH GAMES

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Abstract

The importance of major event legacy has become increasingly vital for host cities and their organising partners. Much of the earlier studies in this area focused on tangible legacies such as economic and infrastructural. Contemporary research has seen a shift towards potential intangible legacies including social legacies and how events engage with their communities. The Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games is used as a case study in order to establish pathways towards the creation of social legacies. This study aims to advance the current literature on the notion of social legacy by conceptualising legacy planning and implementation through the experiences of local policy makers, organisers and coordinators; local community members living within the regeneration area; and, a wider demographic of volunteers involved in Games related programmes. A mixed method approach was employed for this research consisting of interviews, focus groups and an online survey. The data collected was analysed in line with emerging themes. The main themes in this thesis focus upon social impacts relating to individuals, communities, and image, status and sense of place. First, the social impacts for individuals emerging from volunteering, personal development, and an increase in social capital are examined to determine potential routes to create social legacies. Second, an analysis of potential social legacy routes relating to communities examines social impacts of community engagement, post-industrial event-led urban regeneration, the development of social capital, and issues relating to social impacts in communities. Next, social impacts concerning image, status, and sense of place are presented in relation to the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games to highlight social legacy creation routes through changes in reputation, civic pride, and sense of identity. Before concluding, stakeholder perspectives are analysed with regard to the creation of a social legacy from hosting the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games with consideration to partnership legacies, knowledge exchange, and future implications.

Key words: events management, Commonwealth Games, social legacy, volunteering

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1.0 Introduction to thesis

1.1 Introduction

From the time of announcement as the 2014 Commonwealth Games host, Glasgow made their legacy promise clear. Published in 2009, the Glasgow 2014 Legacy Framework declared the Games would produce a sustainable legacy, and it would be a 'People Legacy' (Glasgow City Council 2009, p. 3). The legacy plans proposed by the Scottish Government and Glasgow City Council combined physical regeneration, within the deprived East End, with the ambition to promote social change (McCartney et al. 2013). This research investigates the emerging recognition of social impacts leading to the creation of a social legacy. In the context of major events, permanent or long-term impacts for a host city from staging an event are often recognised under the umbrella of legacy (Thomson et al. 2013). The Scottish Government Social Research (2009, p. 6) publication states, 'legacy is a relatively recent concept in the history of major sporting events; particularly legacy that is broader than economic impact'. Areas often included within the legacy rhetoric are potential social, economic, physical, tourism and/or environmental factors (Thomson et al. 2013). Glasgow's concentrated effort to produce a legacy from the Games provides a timely example to explore the potential to secure such legacy benefits often heralded by host cities without much proof (McCartney et al. 2013).

Glasgow City Council (2007) outlined the legacy for Glasgow with aims to include both tangible (infrastructure developments, job creation, business opportunities) and intangible benefits (civic pride, enhanced community engagement, improved image). This is aligned with the emerging body of research concerned with the intangible impacts such as reputation, community revival, social change, civic pride and social capital (Misener and Mason 2006; Gratton and Preuss 2008; Skinner et al. 2008; Minnaert 2012; Smith 2012; Li 2013; Misener et al. 2015; Jones and Yates 2015). Further aligned with the movement away from the tendency within media, research and industry to focus on tangible aspects of major event legacies which are arguably easier to measure and quantify (Gratton and Preuss 2008; Dickson et al. 2011; Clark and Kearns 2015). McCartney et al. (2013, p. 25) suggest there is a paucity of supportive literature concerning the overall social benefits of large-scale event hosting; yet, host cities continue to promote positive impacts. The possible impacts for Glasgow that were suggested to arise were volunteering, increased physical activity, increased job opportunities and urban regeneration (Scottish Government 2008; McCartney et al.

2013). Therefore, the focus of this research is to explore if a major event, specifically Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games, can create sustainable social impacts that develop into a social legacy.

The expanding interest in social impacts is evident within larger event research (e.g. Toohey 2008; Smith 2012; McCartney et al. 2013; Minnaert 2012; Misener et al. 2013; Rogerson 2016; Davis 2016); however, difficulties in quantifying social impacts has caused this side of intangible legacies to lag behind its counterpart, tangible legacies, in both research and investment from host cities (see Smith 2012; Misener et al. 2013; Scottish Government 2014, 2015). In an attempt to rectify this, Minnaert (2012) suggests categories in which to investigate social legacies via impacts relating to individuals, the community, and city image and reputation. From the social impacts provided in Minnaert's (2012) framework, this research examines whether a social legacy can develop, and if so, which social impacts present potential to lead to the creation of a social legacy. It is argued that to build upon the emerging importance place on social impacts and examine the potential to create a social legacy, further research must be completed (Smith 2012; McCartney et al. 2013; Rogerson 2016; Clark and Kearns 2016). While social impacts are emerging in importance within event legacy research (Cashman 2006; Smith 2012), the majority of research investigates certain elements of social impacts, such as local communities' experiences (Misener & Mason 2006; Smith & Fox 2007), social regeneration and skills (Smith 2012), social capital (Misener 2013) and volunteering (Jones and Yates 2015; Woodall et al. 2016). However, Minnaert (2012) and McCartney et al. (2013) produce introductory frameworks based on potential social impacts from major events, which present routes host cities may take in order to create social legacies.

Minnaert's (2012) framework categorises potential social impacts into impacts relating to individuals, impacts relating to communities and image, status and reputation; therefore, this initiates a starting place when seeking to understand social legacy creation. Similarly, McCartney et al. (2013) present potential pathways that can directly lead to health, wellbeing and social impacts through feeling part of the host city, Games volunteering and city regeneration efforts. In lieu of alternative event legacy research specifically examining, a) social impacts from a major event, and, b) the context of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games, the categories and pathways produced by Minnaert (2012) and McCartney et al. (2013) demonstrate further developments in the depth of understanding and conceptualisation of social impacts towards sustainable social legacy creation for major event host cities.

1.2 Aims & Objectives

Aim: to examine the potential to create a social legacy from hosting a major sporting event

Objective 1: to critically analyse the development and significance of event legacy with particular reference to social legacies

Objective 2: to examine the social impacts for individuals, communities and organisations from the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games

Objective 3: to examine potential pathways to create social legacies from identified social impacts

Objective 4: to establish best practice and present examples to provide valuable policy support for future host cities

1.3 Conceptual background

The concept of legacy planning, specifically social legacy planning and process, has grown considerably in importance (Coaffee 2010); outcomes such as community cohesion, civic pride, citizenship and improved wellbeing can be seen to have developed into objectives for host cities (Smith 2012; Minnaert 2012; McCartney et al. 2013). Like a number of areas within events-related regeneration literature, there is little evidence to support the concept of a lasting positive legacy from urban development associated with mega-events, and what evidence exists is fragmented and contested (Lenskyj 2002; Porter et al. 2009; Davies 2012). However, emerging research from modern major events such as Glasgow's 2014 Commonwealth Games does suggest improvements in legacy planning and governance (Christie and Gibb 2015), sustainability (Rogerson 2016), planned legacy outcomes (McCartney et al. 2013), volunteering (Jones and Yates 2015; Woodall et al. 2016) and community regeneration (Clark and Kearns 2015).

Research conceptualising the broad notion of major event legacy has been growing without much consensus (Cornelissen et al. 2010; Rogerson 2016). Events can have an impact upon host destinations after, during or even before the event; this is commonly what is referred to as legacy (Hartman and Zandberg 2015). There is an enormous variation of so-called legacies within the literature from sports events; however, although often used, the concept of legacy is rarely defined within academic and non-academic literature (Gratton and Preuss 2008; Chappelet 2014). In spite of this, Cornelissen et al. (2010) suggest numerous studies of sport mega-event legacies display

the differing views within the research community on what legacy entails or how it should be defined, which complicates efforts to measure potential event impacts and the creation of legacy.

From the literature associated with event impacts, there has been an upsurge in studies coining various terminologies, from Florida's (2003) 'creativity' and 'creative city' (Pratt 2010), to Garcia's (2004) 'culture-led regeneration' to, more recently, Richards and Palmer's (2012) 'eventful cities' and Smith's (2012) 'event-led/event-themed' regeneration, which have been said to have instigated the changing function of event use in cities. Overall, Smith (2012) terms this subsidiary form of regeneration as 'event regeneration', proposing that the concept generally is associated with culture-led regeneration. Contemporary literature acknowledges that the relationship between major events and regeneration takes several forms and should now be recognised as a method of regeneration in its own right (Smith 2012). Rogerson (2016) details that when defining legacy, Preuss' definition is often the chosen citation; therefore, to provide consistency in this study Preuss' (2007, p. 211) is used to define legacy for this thesis: 'irrespective of time or production and space, legacy is all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible.' Furthermore, specifically investigating social impacts, Minnaert's (2012) groupings of 'individual impacts', 'community impacts' and 'reputation, sense of place and status' are applied to Glasgow's Commonwealth Games in a wider discussion of social legacy potential. Highlighted through a thorough literature review regarding social legacy creation, Minnaert's (2012) categories provide a structure within multiple potential social impacts and a method of analysis that allows the framework to be built upon, and adapted to analyse and discuss the findings from this research. The combination of a legacy definition and a focused social legacy examination allows for this research to present a working definition of 'social legacy', which is explored further in this thesis.

There has been considerable interest in the concept of legacy and its relevance in contemporary major event-led governance (Smith 2012; Christie and Gibb 2015; Clark and Kearns 2015; Rogerson 2016). In recent years, the use of hosting major events has become increasingly central within city growth and urban renewal strategies (Smith and Fox 2007; Smith 2012). The rationale for hosting events has evolved from exhibiting industrial or technological progress to celebrating cultural festivities to the current justification of catalysing urban regeneration (Essex and Chalkley 1998; Coalter 2007; Sadd 2009; Smith et al. 2009; Smith 2012). As well as providing cities with opportunities for economic investment, the hosting of major and mega events can act as a way to enhance community engagement and put urban regeneration on the planning agenda (Getz 2008;

Smith 2012). At this stage it is important to acknowledge the varying semantics when analysing events. Muller (2015) argues that despite mega-events being commonly examined areas, they are rarely defined by their scale and size. Furthermore, he draws conclusions that the thresholds for events to be categories as mega, major, large or gigantic can and do change as the event moves host nation. To provide clarity throughout this research, the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games is considered a major event, whereas larger events such as Olympic and Paralympic Games are considered mega. Regarding further semantics, this research employs 'large' as a means to describing an event considered major or mega, consistent with previous definitions citing an international scale (Jago and Shaw 1998), significant impact on the host city (Horne 2007), wide media coverage (Mills and Rosentraub 2013) and large amount of visitors, costs and an impact on the built environment (Muller 2015).

In an attempt to address the gaps in knowledge, many cities are utilising events to stimulate specific regeneration initiatives; for example, London 2012 and Glasgow 2014 have supplemented 'hard' impacts by inspiring 'softer' social, cultural and economic regeneration (Smith and Fox 2007; Sadd 2009; Smith 2011). Likewise, a shift in event regeneration has helped focus emphasis on long-term outcomes rather than short-term impacts (Smith 2012). Recent literature into events suggests that positive impacts do not automatically 'trickle down' to small businesses and host communities; therefore, it is argued to be inadequate to concentrate purely on 'hard' physical legacies of events (Smith and Fox 2007; Minnaert 2012). Hence, although large events have long been associated with the physical regeneration of cities, further research is needed to address concerns of long-term social considerations and softer economic impacts (Balsas 2004; Smith and Fox 2007; Coalter 2007; Dickson et al. 2011; Davies 2012). Despite becoming increasingly important, research into social impacts, in particular social legacy impacts of events, is limited (Cashman 2006; Sadd 2010; Nichols and Ralston 2011; McCartney et al. 2013; Minnaert 2012). Further to cultural and economic benefits to cities, events are often aimed at encouraging social regeneration through the provision of improved infrastructure and new skills support for local people – for example, Pre-volunteer Programmes (Smith and Fox 2007; Nichols and Ralston 2011). Volunteer programmes are commonly employed to achieve such efforts (Smith and Fox 2007; Nichols and Ralston 2011). A positive example of social legacy, which has been said to be the main positive outcome to come out of Sydney's 2000 Olympic Games, was the volunteer legacy which has been replicated worldwide for many mega-events (Sadd 2010; Nichols and Ralston 2012). However, even when such attempts are successful, it is unclear whether, in reality, they provide any contribution to social

regeneration efforts (Smith and Fox 2007). Therefore, although recent host cities have pursued social regeneration in association with events (Smith 2012), there is largely a lack of robust research into social regeneration legacies (Cashman 2006; Sadd 2010; Nichols and Ralston 2011).

Roche (1994, p. 9) suggests, ‘major events are seen as a particularly effective catalyst for city regeneration process because that are able to merge tourism strategies with urban planning and can boost the confidence and pride of the local community’. Due to the importance of legacy planning and need for more evidence surrounding it, the notion of the planning for legacy has been experiencing a lot of academic and industry attention in recent years (Sadd 2010; Christie and Gibb 2015; Rogerson 2016). Glasgow, as a post-industrial city experienced in events and urban regeneration (Garcia 2005; McCartney et al. 2013; Christie and Gibb 2015), is used through this study as a case study to examine major event social legacy.

1.4 Case study: Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games

1.4.1 Introduction

In November 2007, Glasgow was announced as the city that would host the 2014 Commonwealth Games. From the bidding stage, a partnership between Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Government made a concerted effort to demonstrate the potential benefits for the host community from hosting such an event (Christie and Gibb 2015). Drawing from established and emerging research combining major events with post-industrial regeneration, place marketing and social impacts (Paddison and Miles 2007; Matheson 2010; Smith 2012; McCartney et al. 2013), the bid included a variety of possible legacies across infrastructure, employment and health (Christie and Gibb 2015). The Organising Committee for the Games, Glasgow 2014 Ltd, brought Commonwealth Games Scotland, the Scottish Government and Glasgow City Council together into the partnership responsible for delivering the bid documents. Thus, from 23rd July to 3rd August 2014, Glasgow played host to the 2014 Commonwealth Games. An estimated 6,500 athletes and team officials from 71 nations and territories took part in 17 sports and five para-sports, making this event the largest multi-sport event ever hosted in Scotland (Scottish Government 2008, 2015). Glasgow as a case study of event-led regeneration and legacy research has generated a considerable amount of academic interest (see Porter et al. 2009; Matheson 2010; McCartney et al. 2010; McCartney et al. 2013; Rogerson 2016; Christie and Gibb 2015; Misener et al. 2015). The following section provides a rationale to the selection of Glasgow as a case study

for this research. The links between post-industrial cities and event-led regeneration as well as Glasgow's history as an events city are examined in combination with the emerging area of major events' potential to create a social legacy.

1.4.2 Event-led regeneration

In the context of major sporting events, the term 'regeneration' has developed from being used in a housing renewal and other property-led contexts to a more holistic conceptualisation encompassing integration, sustainability, spatial targeting and partnership (Smith et al. 2009). Stewart and Rayner (2016) state that cities bidding to host a major event often include regeneration projects focused within urban areas of decline. Events have become recognised as significant vehicles in developing and selling destinations and as an important tourism motivator, thus, are increasingly central within city marketing campaigns (Getz 2008; Davies 2012). Salisbury (2016) suggests that hosting large sport events may particularly attractive for cities facing industrial decline and a newly established leisure and service sector. As Richards and Palmer (2010, p. 37) argue:

Cities have long since been shaped by events, and the relationships between city and its event programme has changed significantly over the centuries... The contemporary city is likely to see eventfulness as one more source of creativity that can be developed to stimulate the creative industries, enhance the attractiveness of the city and promote social cohesion.

More specifically, associated with major sport events, new sports-related experiences and facilities can be seen to be employed by cities aiming to re-image and construct a new place identity away from an unattractive industrial past (Gratton, Dobson and Shibli 2001; Coalter 2007). Kassens-Noor (2015, p. 665) suggests that 'because of their transformative potential, mega-events have become powerful tools for urban revitalisation, regeneration and development'. Similarly, Davies (2012) and Salisbury (2016) argue that from the perspective of Olympic Games, the majority of host cities since Barcelona 1992 have committed an element of urban regeneration into their hosting strategy. However, the success of event-led regeneration strategies is contested for a number of reasons (Lees Slater and Wyly 2008; Porter et al. 2009). Major event urban regeneration often involves large areas of residential displacement and ultimately gentrification of regenerated urban areas (Smith 2012; Watt 2013; Salisbury 2016). This is most recently evident in South America due to hosting the Pan American Games 2007, FIFA World Cup 2014 and Olympic and Paralympic Games 2016 (Gaffney 2016). Furthermore, the risk of under-used facilities linked to

ambitious over-spending on Games infrastructure is often cited as a result of unnecessarily diverting the city budget from other areas of need within the city (Porter et al. 2009; Smith 2012).

For many post-industrial cities around the world, the role of events and culture has been central in developing tourism, generating wealth and reversing the economic downturn brought by the post-industrial era (Murphy and Boyle 2006; Coalter 2007; Smith 2011). De-industrial eventful cities employ culture in a local and regional identity context as a key part of their post-industrial future (Bailey, Miles and Stark 2004; Murphy and Boyle 2004). The importance of concentrated regeneration efforts in urban areas has significantly risen within public policy circles in the last few decades (Garcia 2004; Coalter 2007; Smith 2009; Coaffee 2010). Evidence of this can be seen in cities' use of re-imaging strategies (Coalter 2007), the linking of regeneration efforts with arts activity, city marketing and urban tourism, to name a few, which has continued to gain support among marketers, city planners and cultural policy-makers (Garcia 2004; Misener et al. 2015). The increasing numbers of cities taking up a cultural based approach to support and raise awareness of local activity and cultural legacies (Garcia 2005) has provided greater cultural and economic benefits to local areas (Raj and Vignail 2010). Furthermore, this approach of enhancing destinations through city branding can be linked to the disassociation from an industrial past (Wilson and Richards 2004). For many post-industrial cities, such as Glasgow, Bilbao and Rotterdam, the role of culture has been central in developing tourism, generating wealth and reversing the economic downturn brought by the post-industrial era (Murphy and Boyle 2004).

Glasgow, suffering from deindustrialisation, population alterations and economic reform, is a prime example of city experiencing a renaissance towards a service-based economy (Matheson 2010). After being awarded City of Culture 1990, Glasgow is largely accepted as a model of transformation from the suffering industrial city to the energetic post-industrial city with an economy based on culture, arts and tourism (Mooney 2004; Murphy and Boyle 2004). Having held a number of reputable sport and cultural titles, e.g. European Capital of Sport 2003 and Intelligent Community of the Year 2004 (Glasgow 2014 2007), Glasgow represents a contemporary case study for event-led regeneration through arts and culture (Mooney 2004; Garcia 2004, 2005) as well as through sporting events (McCartney et al. 2013; Christie and Gibb 2015; Rogerson 2016). Christie and Gibb (2015, p. 29) illustrate Glasgow's event-led past in the table below citing that, historically, 'Glasgow has placed increasing stress on event-led regeneration schemes: from the Garden festival in 1980s, the 1990 City of Culture and the hosting of the Glasgow 2014

Commonwealth Games through to the ongoing strategy seeking to host future major international events'. Similarly, Salisbury (2016, p. 8) sets out Glasgow's event context in the following way:

At the local level, policy-makers in Glasgow had clearly embarked upon a strategy that initially appreciated the intrinsic legacies of events, but later replaced this with a more sophisticated understanding of the instrumental rewards that could be attached to them.

The table has been adapted by the author to include additional and future events included within wider legacy goals (Glasgow City Council 2014). Illustrating Glasgow's history as 'one of reinvention' (Salisbury 2016, p. 8), Salisbury (2016) concludes that the changes in national policy regarding hosting events now provide a supportive framework as to gain the most from events. This is mirrored in the growing ability and ambitious nature of Glasgow's successful event bidding depicted in Table 1.

Table 1 Major events in Glasgow (1983 - 2010)

Year	Event
1983	Opening of the Burrell Collection
1985	Opening of the Scottish Exhibition and Conference Centre
1988	Glasgow Garden Festival
1990	European City of Culture
1994	First 'Celtic Connections' Winter Music Festival
1996	Visual Arts Festival, Opening of GoMA
1997	Opening of Clyde Auditorium (the Armadillo)
1997	International Rotary Convention
1999	UK City of Architecture and Design
2002	Host of European Champions League Final
2005, 2007, 2012	Radiance Festival of Light
2007	Host of the UEFA Cup Final
2009, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2016	MOBO Awards
2010	Renewables UK
2014	Opening of the Hydro venue
2014	Radio 1's Big Weekend (added by author)

2014	Commonwealth Games
2014	MTV Music Awards
2015	International Gymnastics
2017	ISU World Figure Skating Championships (progress bid) (added by author)
2020	UEFA European Championships 2020 (Bid submitted 2014) (added by author)

Adapted from Christie and Gibb 2015, p. 29

The scale of the Commonwealth Games noticeably provided Glasgow with a rare opportunity to present the city as a contender for future events (Christie and Gibb 2015; Scottish Government 2015). As illustrated in Table 1, Glasgow has a rich history of hosting events themed by culture, arts and sport. Furthermore, the events listed in Table 1 demonstrate Glasgow's assertive approach to event hosting building from smaller, static exhibitions to larger, city-wide events.

As Silvestre (2009, p. 8) argues, 'a revitalised city is attractive to investors, tourists and the host community'. In order to utilise this opportunity, research conducted by the Scottish Government (2015, p. 22) suggests host cities should consider hosting the Games 'not as a branding opportunity in themselves, but rather a media opportunity'; therefore, the host can implement a strong, consistent message for the global media to alter perceptions for post-Games demand. This suggestion is particularly relevant in Glasgow, as the use of events in marketing campaigns for Glasgow is not new (Garcia 2005; Christie and Gibb 2015). Garcia (2005, p. 847) states, 'Glasgow has been cited as a role model for exploiting city marketing as a core component of urban regeneration'. The 2014 Commonwealth Games adds to this model, for example, the city brand, 'People Make Glasgow' led on the 2014 marketing campaign (Christie and Gibb 2015). Events research supports the emergence of emotive and relatable city branding as a means to gaining a meaningful connection to the local community, which utilises existing resources to promote Games-related activities (Grix 2014; Misener et al. 2015). Approaching sport in this way has been described as a natural and easily accepted development of the city's current tourism image, implying sporting initiatives can be absorbed into effective imaging strategies (Coalter 2007). Misener et al. (2015, p. 451) suggest that scholars in this area, aligned with the movement towards considered impacts from host cities, have 'embraced the sociological turn to examine events from the perspective of social change'. From the outset of Glasgow's bidding documents, the emphasis

on both economic and civic development is evident. Not only from the newly designed city-wide branding mentioned above, but also the pre-Games vision of:

Glasgow 2014 will help achieve a healthier, more vibrant city with its citizens enjoying and realising the benefits of sport and the wider, longer term economic, social, cultural and environmental benefits that Glasgow 2014 can help deliver (Glasgow City Council 2009, p. 4).

Here, Glasgow City Council demonstrates the wide reaching aspirations the hosting of such an event would enable. The holistic nature of this vision is aligned with the shifting paradigm of major event research to include more focused attention on the longer-term impacts of major events (Smith 2012; Misener et al. 2015). Furthermore, as a major event regeneration project, Glasgow mirrors current research that suggests successful event regeneration requires plans to be embedded in current city development plans (Smith 2012; Scottish Government 2015).

The potential impacts upon host communities from a major event are mixed within events management research (Stewart and Rayner 2016; Salisbury 2016). Previous studies suggest host cities tend to rely on the 'trickle down' effect, e.g. Athens 2004, Torino 2006, and Beijing 2008 (Minnaert 2012; Smith 2012; Scottish Government 2015). Stewart and Rayner (2016) argue that while host communities may receive indirect benefits in a trickle down effect, literature concerning the success of this route reports unpredictability and governing bodies cannot rely on this effect to guarantee results for the local residents. Similarly, much of this research highlights the lack of community engagement through any event-led regeneration processes (Silvestre 2009; Smith 2012). Silvestre (2009) suggests the host community are more often given information, rather than consulted on plans regarding regeneration. This issue was reflected in the principles set out by Glasgow City Council in their Legacy Framework, which stated:

We will monitor the outcomes as we progress to ensure the Glasgow 2014 Legacy Framework delivers on these principles and maintain a process of continuous community engagement, equality of opportunity, and sustainability in our approach (Glasgow City Council 2009, p. 10).

Here, Glasgow's largest event-led regeneration project represents a considered approach suggested by authors, such as Smith (2012) and Minnaert (2012), who emphasise the importance of consistent and meaningful community engagement. The principles of 'health, sustainability and inclusiveness' (Glasgow City Council 2009, p7) underpin the legacy themes presented by Glasgow City Council to aid the formation of future legacy activity at local and regional level; therefore, it highlights the integrated nature recommended by Rogerson (2016) and Christie and Gibb (2015).

The quote above presents an opportunity to examine an event-led regeneration project aligned with an importance placed on community consultation engagement, something often described as missing from previous Games urban regeneration efforts (Silvestre 2009; Davies 2012; Stewart and Rayner 2016). With regard to this research, the available documents concerning Glasgow's approach were a vital part in selecting it as a case study. Important for this study, Glasgow provided a research opportunity to develop the field of event-led regeneration in a post-industrial setting. Not only does Glasgow have a rich event history to draw upon, the city also had large areas of urban decline, particularly in the East End, in need of renewal which was central to the bid document (Glasgow 2014 2007, 2009; Legacy 2014 2014, 2015).

East End regeneration and Clyde Gateway

From the bidding stage, Glasgow's effort promoted the Games as a catalyst for ongoing city regeneration focused in the East End in partnership with Clyde Gateway Urban Regeneration Company, an independent company launched with a twenty year plan of delivering economic and social change across Glasgow's East End and neighbouring South Lanarkshire (Clark and Kearns 2015). Clyde Gateway defined their company and relations to the Commonwealth Games on their website as follows:

Clyde Gateway is Scotland's biggest and most ambitious regeneration programme. It is a partnership between Glasgow City Council, South Lanarkshire Council and Scottish Enterprise, backed by funding and direct support from the Scottish Government.

Our task, over a 20-year period until 2028, is to lead that way on achieving unparalleled social, economic and physical change across our communities over an area of 840 hectares in the east end of Glasgow and in Rutherglen.

It is an area awash with opportunity and primed to continue to build on the Legacy aspects of the highlight successful and memorable 2014 Commonwealth Games (clydegateway.com 2016).

Specifically, this area within Glasgow East End is home to the lowest life expectancy and is considered the poorest suburb in the UK (McCartney et al. 2013; Clark and Kearns 2015). Included within the regeneration area was the construction of Commonwealth Games Athletes Village, the Emirates Arena and the Sir Chris Hoy Velodrome. The targeted development utilised previously derelict land or brownfield sites, a trend becoming increasingly noticeable within major event regeneration projects (Smith and Fox 2007; McCartney et al. 2013). Incorporated into the Clyde Gateway Project, one of the largest regeneration projects in Europe (Glasgow 2014 2007, p. 2), the Village and new stadia were planned to 'transform the East End of Glasgow, which, of all the areas

in the city, was the powerhouse of Glasgow's industrial growth'. In addition to Clyde Gateway, a Glasgow-based research project was established to collect data on impacts of regeneration from the residents from 15 of the most disadvantaged communities (Curl et al. 2014). Beck et al. (2010, p. 126) described 'the GoWell research and learning programme aims to evaluate health impacts of housing-led regeneration in areas of Glasgow, a post-industrial city in Scotland.' Furthermore, Legacy 2014 state that the GoWell research project produces research on the impacts of event-led urban regeneration. Specifically focussing on health and wellbeing impacts (Curl et al. 2014), the GoWell programme enables further depth in investigating the creation of social legacy from a major event; highlighted in their outcomes of 'social and community outcomes' and 'health and wellbeing' (gowellonline.com 2016). The Scottish Government (2015, p. 18) suggests the need for the GoWell project is evident since a thorough examination of the regeneration impact upon East End community 'is not something we can readily answer from existing data'. The commitment to producing new data from hosting the Commonwealth Games in Glasgow is noted as 'the first longitudinal community study in a Games "host population", that is the community most impacted by the Games investment' (Legacy 2014 2015, p. 18). Therefore, this further enhances the selection and relevancy for this case study examining the potential to create a social legacy from a major event.

The Scottish Government (2015), from their literature review post-Games, suggests that event-led regeneration can have positive results if, firstly, the infrastructure is what the city needs and not entirely Games-time focused. Secondly, the community are consulted throughout the planned and delivery stages in order for the most needed to be reached and appropriate benefits to be achieved (Legacy 2014 2015). For Glasgow, the social aspect of delivering event-led regeneration was important from the offset. Recognised as a crucial stakeholder from the beginning, the host community, and potential wider social impact, is highlighted throughout the bid and planning documents; therefore, this demonstrates further engagement with promoting social impact and legacy (Glasgow 2007). Post-Games, Glasgow City Council (2015) published an extensive report containing the Games highlights and impacts including the construction of Scotland's inaugural large-scale sustainable housing project within the East End regeneration development. Moreover, beyond the Games research suggests the host community believe they have a larger influence and feel a sense ownership of local decisions, which creates a community-led regeneration environment (Glasgow 2014 2015).

In terms of regeneration, Glasgow provides an extremely relevant example of event-led regeneration, including a multi-award winning Athletes Village and introduction of new investment into previously run down area (Legacy 2014 2015). Through establishing a dedicated regeneration agency tasked with delivering event-led regeneration at a community level, Clyde Gateway, Glasgow 2014 (2015) have reported to have produced a successful, community focused regeneration model for future cities to learn from (Christie and Gibb 2015). The city, therefore, provides an opportunity to explore the development within the concept of social legacy from major events regeneration.

1.4.3 Legacy

A significant amount of Glasgow's winning bid to host the Commonwealth Games rested on their convincing argument to produce a successful event legacy for the city and people (McCartney et al. 2013). Put together by the Scottish Government and Glasgow City Council, the bid emphasised a number of outcomes that would benefit the host population, collectively placed under the umbrella of legacy. Research suggests when legacy plans are implemented into wider regeneration strategies, they seem to leave a more positive overall legacy (Garcia 2004; Smith and Fox 2007; Gratton and Preuss 2008; Davies 2012). This is in contrast to host cities demonstrating a distinct lack of wider master planning, e.g. Sydney where Davies (2012) states delayed regeneration plans were a result of a lack of wider legacy planning. Furthermore, Stewart and Rayner (2016) suggest integrated legacy planning allows for legacy governance and responsibilities to be decided pre-Games when working between multi governing and planning bodies. However, Gaffney (2016) suggests integration alone without thorough forethought and community consultations, does not tend to result in a positive event-led regeneration legacy, as exemplified in Brazil from the Pan American Games 2007, FIFA World Cup 2014 and Olympic and Paralympics 2016.

Currently, both the Scottish Government's and Glasgow City Council's legacy frameworks monitor and evaluate Games Legacy until 2019 (Glasgow City Council 2009, 2010; Scottish Government 2014). The frameworks recognise the importance of the Scottish economy, physical activity, international presence and sustainability as well as accessibility and inclusivity (see Table 2). Crucially, both of the legacy frameworks highlight the importance of integrated planning and overall legacy governance as suggested by Smith (2012), Davies (2012) and Stewart and Rayner (2016); however, there remains a risk of difficulties in legacy responsibilities, as highlighted by

Stewart and Rayner (2016, p. 171) as ‘complicated government and political structure to be considered’ regarding London 2012 Olympic Games stakeholder management.

Table 2 Legacy frameworks

Glasgow City Council Legacy Themes	Scottish Government Legacy Themes
Prosperous Glasgow	Flourishing
Active Glasgow	Active
International Glasgow	Connected
Greener Glasgow	Sustainable
Accessible Glasgow	
Inclusive Glasgow	

Glasgow City Council 2009; Scottish Government 2014

For the purpose of this research, importance is placed on the approach taken specifically in Glasgow by the City Council; however, this is not without regard to the governmental themes. As Rogerson (2016, p.9) states:

Although these two sets of themes were initially separate, and align with differing national and local government priorities, through the legacy planning and reporting process they have become more coherent, enabling the publication post-Games of a single shared report (Scottish Government 2015).

Glasgow’s Legacy Framework, established in 2009, details the legacy governance and leadership structure developed by Glasgow City Council. For the purpose of this study, the production of such a document is essential to the aim of understanding the creation of sustainable legacies. Specifically for Glasgow, Christie and Gibb (2015, p. 880) discuss the ‘major consultation exercise’ undertaken by Glasgow City Council in order to highlight and engage with the community’s aspirations and expectations. This legacy agenda presents an aligned approach to recent research carried out by Misener et al. (2015, p. 451), who suggest, ‘the emphasis of legacy programmes has shifted to sustainable social legacies of events that emphasise broader community benefits’. The commitment to community engagement through the legacy identification process emphasises the importance placed on managing and governing planned legacy in order to enable a strong chance of creating a sustainable legacy. In addition to the frameworks developed, Glasgow launched the Glasgow Legacy Board. Detailed in Glasgow’s Legacy Framework, the Glasgow Legacy Board was established to ‘lead on the development and delivery of the key legacy projects and programmes,

in line with the six legacy themes’ (Glasgow 2014 2009, p. 70); therefore, the board provided governance to the events-led economic and social initiatives integrated into the existing city regeneration strategies (Christie and Gibb 2015).

With regard to the case study for this research, Glasgow 2014 presented further innovative development by establishing an Engagement and Legacy Team embedded in their structure, an addition becoming increasingly common with other large sporting event structure (Misener et al. 2015), but a first for any Commonwealth Games host city (Scottish Government 2014; Glasgow City Council 2015). Combined with the launch of the Glasgow Legacy Board, the creation of a dedicated legacy team made Glasgow 2014 Organising Committee the first to be held accountable for their responsibility to delivery legacy outcomes (Christie and Gibb 2015). The Scottish Government and Glasgow City Council acknowledge that evidence on legacy from major sporting events varies in quality and thoroughness (Lenskyj 2002; Porter et al. 2009; Davies 2012; Scottish Government 2014; Scottish Government 2015). However, Misener et al. (2015, p. 457) describes Glasgow’s approach to developing legacy planning and delivery as ‘forthright in expressing the view that the Games provided a model for future hosts to follow with respect to legacy’. This argument is reiterated in the Legacy 2014 (2015) post-Games report that commends Glasgow’s advanced approach of officially including legacy as a factor of the Organising Committee’s remit. Similarly, despite the previous contested evidence heralding the challenges of securing a social focused legacy (see Preuss 2007; Porter et al. 2009; Paton et al. 2012; Minnaert 2012; Misener et al. 2013; Weed 2014) to date, Glasgow’s effort has been well arguably received within local industry (Clyde Gateway 2015; Legacy 2014 2015) and research (Misener et al. 2015; Clark and Kearns 2016; Rogerson 2016). Demonstrating confidence throughout the planning and implementation stages of Glasgow’s Commonwealth Games approach, Councillor Gordon Matheson (2009, p. 1) proclaimed, ‘Glasgow 2014 will leave a lasting legacy and it is my ambition that it will a People Legacy’. The focus on people is evident, not only from the current city branding as previously discussed, but also from the bidding stage with the submitted bid, named ‘People, Place, Passion’, providing a description of the different organisations and people targeted to benefit from Games legacies (see Table 3).

Table 3 Vision of different legacy beneficiaries from Glasgow 2014

Legacy for	Potential Impact
Athletes	A successful Games in which their performances meet their aspirations and

	they take away positive memories of competing in Scotland
Commonwealth Games Federation	A successful Games on which further consolidation and development of the Game and its influence can be based
Commonwealth Games Associations	A successful Games and a new programme of targeted sports development assistance for nations and territories
Commonwealth Games Council for Scotland	A successful Games and further improvement to participation and performance in Scottish sport
The city	A successful Games and significant regeneration of the East End of Glasgow, making effective use of otherwise derelict land and creating employment opportunities for local people
The country	A successful Games promoting economic development in the short-term, for example, through increased tourism and through a longer-term change in perception which will attract further inward investment
Individuals (officials, administrators, volunteers)	A successful Games, personal development and self-fulfilment

Glasgow 2014, 2007

The social focus of these Games inspired the choice of Glasgow for this case study. Clark and Kearns (2016, p. 2) suggest that previous research indicates a tendency for host city to neglect socially focussed pledges made at the bidding stages resulting in ‘gradually side-lined, watered down or forgotten’ promises. The approach taken by Glasgow concerning legacy planning has been commended for taking into consideration previous Games examples, learning from the research gathered and integrating the Commonwealth Games into wider regenerations policy and city strategies (McCartney et al. 2013; Misener et al. 2015; Clark and Kearns 2016).

Due to the wide-ranging nature of potential benefits and ability to examine the social legacy potential, as exemplified in Table 3 above, this case study has enabled a focused approach concerning the social legacy for individuals, the community and the city. These three areas are found within the two highlighted sections in Table 3. Broadly, a number of factors were considered when making this selection. First, previous research sets out the possible negative social impacts

felt by the host community, such as displacement, restricted access to facilities, lack of involvement in the planning process and removing local powers (Sadd and Jones 2009). Glasgow, as a host city, planned for consistent community consultation from the bidding stages with the wider community (Glasgow City Council 2007). The establishment of the Glasgow Legacy Board ensured there was representation from each delivery partner, namely the Scottish Government, Glasgow 2014 Organising Committee and Glasgow City Council, to help coordinate and encourage a consistent legacy outlook from the governance perspective (Christie and Gibb 2015). Furthermore, Christie and Gibb (2015, p. 877) state Glasgow's approach to embed the Games legacy plans into the city's Community Planning strategy 'can be seen to have encouraged the development of new and existing partnerships across the city, actively involving key public, private and the third sector agencies in legacy delivery'. The importance placed on community engagement allows for a current examination of innovative socially focused approaches to legacy delivery. Glasgow City Council's Legacy Framework produced a strong socially focussed legacy ambition; therefore, this allowed for a deeper examination of the creation of social impacts compared to more frequently discussed economic or tangible impacts.

Aligned with the growing trend in legacy research concerning intangible impacts, the timely opportunity to examine potential social legacies is apparent. Next, also delivered in collaboration with city volunteering developments, the Games volunteer programmes provided opportunities for people to get involved with the Commonwealth Games. Figures from Glasgow 2014's (2015) post-Games report state an estimated 12,500 Clyde-siders and 1,200 Host City Volunteers participated in Games volunteering initiatives. The Clyde-sider programme saw Glasgow embark on its largest peacetime volunteer project, 'with a record 50,811 volunteer applications' received (Glasgow 2014 2015, p. 15). Volunteers within Glasgow 2014 also played a crucial part for Glasgow within the Queens Baton Relay project, pre-Games Frontrunner volunteer programme and ceremonies Cast Member volunteers. From post-Games figures, an approximate 3,000 volunteers took part in the opening and closing ceremonies. In addition to this, Glasgow Life also established the Host City Volunteer programme. This programme 'supported volunteer from part of the community least likely to take up volunteer opportunities as part of a 3-year project' (Misener et al. 2015, p. 458). Glasgow Life describe the purpose of the Host City Volunteer project as:

The HCV project was designed to form the first part of a wider Host City Glasgow programme which is planned to run from Dec 2013 until Dec 2016. Its aim is to enable Glasgow's communities to engage better with the delivery of future major event opportunities, building on the experiences from the Commonwealth Games and supported

by a programme of flexible learning, citizenship, and volunteering. The programme intends to achieve the following outcomes:

- Increased learning opportunities for Glaswegians to understand, develop and sustain local and city-wide concepts of identity and civic pride;
- Increased awareness of and engagement with the city's cultural and sporting assets;
- Increased uptake and active participation by Glaswegians in volunteering and delivery opportunities associated with major cultural and sporting events.

(Rogerson et al. 2015, p. 6).

The large numbers of people involved in Games-related volunteer initiatives allows for critical research to be undertaken concerning social legacies. Volunteer populations are essential to the success of any major event (Nichols and Ralston 2012); therefore, it is important to develop further understanding of the potential social outcomes from being involved in major event volunteering.

Finally, Glasgow's forward thinking approach to planning for legacy allows for a discussion concerning possible sustainable legacies in a realistic context for future host cities. The large amount of pre- and post-Games research has created a substantial research body to draw upon for future host cities as well as provides a level of accountability to deliver on legacy aspirations. Scholars such as Rogerson (2016), Christie and Gibb (2015), Clark and Kearns (2015) and Misener et al. (2015) present a number of successes to be taken from Glasgow's approach to legacy; therefore, this case study will add to this body of new research in the emerging event legacy field.

Moreover, the frameworks chosen for this case study allow for a new application and examination of social legacy creation through the data gathered. Much of the literature concerning event legacy remains inconsistent and presents gaps in research (McCartney et al. 2013; Kassens-Noor et al. 2015; Stewart and Rayner 2016). This gap deepens when considering social legacy alone and its creation from examining potential social impacts (Smith 2012; Minnaert 2012). The process of compiling current research on major event social impacts and available literature on previous Commonwealth Games illustrates the expansion within legacy understanding (Christie and Gibb 2015). However, it also demonstrates the importance of developing legacies appropriate to the needs of the city to avoid unnecessary spending and negative consequences, such as gentrification (Smith 2012), displacement (Porter et al. 2009), community unrest (Paton et al. 2012) and under-utilised 'white elephants' (Preuss 2007; Clark and Kearns 2015). Therefore, this thesis presents a broad perspective of social impacts in relation to individuals, communities and organisations towards the development of sustainable social legacies from hosting the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games.

1.5 Structure

Following this introduction chapter, this thesis is structured by a further eight chapters. Chapter two introduces the concept of major event legacy and explores the numerous aspects considered when attempting to define legacy. This chapter explores previous conceptualisation of legacy, as well as, the development of legacy imperatives within major event management and planning. Specific to the Commonwealth Games, the published material referring to previous legacies is explored to document to the development of Commonwealth Games legacies.

Chapter three provides the second half of the literature review and examines the development of the notion of social legacy. Structured by social impacts relating to individuals, communities and organisations, this chapter develops a narrative to inform subsequent discussion chapters. Chapter three details the research methods employed in this study. A mixed method research paradigm was implemented to effectively examine the potential to create a sustainable social legacy in this case study. In-depth interviews were conducted with sport and event professionals, city council officials, Games Organising Committee, volunteering professionals, Games regeneration partners and community legacy organisations selected for their expertise and experience relevant to the research's aim and objectives. Furthermore, community focus groups were completed with community members who reside with the target regeneration area, Glasgow's East End. In addition, 229 online surveys were completed by participants who had taken part in a Games volunteer programme. The majority of this survey comprised qualitative open-ended questions; supported by basic information questions, as well as the Warwick Edinburgh Mental Wellbeing Scale (WEMWBS) to provide quantitative data on perceived personal wellbeing improvements and, therefore, possible individual social legacy. The questions for this survey were piloted with two focus groups in Glasgow. In doing this, the data collected provides a wide notion of social legacy, narrowed further to individual and community social legacy through the data collected from the aforementioned community member focus groups in the East End of Glasgow. Attride-Stirling's (2001) framework of thematic analysis is discussed in relation to this case study and the implementation of discovered themes are highlighted prior to the discussion chapters.

Chapter five begins the discussion of the data collected in this study. Presenting a conceptualisation of major event social legacy, this chapter explores the notions behind successful legacies such as planning and governance. Next, chapter six explores the social impacts related to individuals; this chapter presents findings examining such impacts as civic pride, social capital, wellbeing,

volunteering and skills. Chapter seven develops the argument of social impacts related to the community including network building, urban regeneration and social capital. Chapter eight presents the discussion of potential social legacy for Glasgow as a city concerning status, reputations, pride and organisational relationships. Overall, the results are applied to pre-Games recommendations McCartney et al. (2012) suggested in order to achieve successful legacies.

The final chapter provides recommendations from this research and presents how the findings may be able to inform future academic and industry practice. The main findings in this research suggest Glasgow's approach to social legacy can inform future cities aiming to create social change; however, it is acknowledged that more longitudinal research is required.

2.0 Legacy and Major Events

2.1 Introduction

The main reasons for conducting this literature review (Booth et al. 2016) can be summarised into two points: 1) critically review the literature, and 2) highlight any gaps in the current body of research that forms the foundation for this thesis. This chapter serves the purpose of conceptualising legacy and legacy planning as it used in contemporary major events. It begins by initially examining the advancement of the term legacy within academia followed by its gradual implementation into industry policy and practice, followed by what is currently measured under the umbrella of legacy and the development of legacy planning. This section reviews literature highlighting successes, challenges and future implications. This is followed by contemporary examples of legacy with a specific focus on major event legacies as well as the analysis of the evolution of Commonwealth Games legacies. This chapter will conclude by examining the emergence of legacy planning and its importance for major events. The following chapter, and second part to this literature review, introduces and examines the emergence of social legacy and, specifically, major event social impacts. The developing discussion surrounding social impacts demonstrates the importance of this research through innovative frameworks established alongside the growth of recognition towards social legacy emergence. Specifically, McCartney et al. (2013) identified pathways pre-Games in order to highlight where potential legacies may arise. The pathways concerning social legacy creation (health, wellbeing and social impacts) were identified as ‘increased pride and sense of identity, volunteering and improved environment’ (McCartney et al. 2013, p. 28); thus, it provides a research direction to further social legacy research. Moreover, Minnaert (2012) suggests that social impacts can be related to individuals, communities and image, status and sense of place. This also provides a further focus for this research to examine the potential to secure a social legacy from hosting a major event.

The concept of legacy has grown considerably in importance (Coaffee 2010; Preuss 2015; Leopkey and Parent 2016) and variety (Gratton and Preuss 2008; Rogerson 2016). Issues surrounding lack of robust literature is evident from the immense variety of what the notion of legacy is; the concept itself is broadly questioned and arguably lacks understanding (Gratton and Preuss 2008; Davies 2012). Sadd (2010) proposes that the success of any event legacy depends greatly on the quality of the planning. Therefore, the list of potential factors included in planning and legacy considerations is by no means exhaustive. The wide information, knowledge and organisation needed within the

early stages must provide a shared and coordinated understanding from all stakeholders, which may prove difficult (Halbwirth and Toohey 2013). During the 1980s, event impact studies began to develop and provide substance to potential positive and negative outcomes of events (Thomson et al. 2013; Hartman and Zandberg 2015); however, the notion of event legacies predates this, and, in order to fully understand the modern day application of legacy, its evolution must be explored.

2.2 Conceptualising Legacy

Research concerning the evolution of event legacy is a relatively recent development within academia (Cashman and Horne 2013; Clark and Kearns 2015). Preuss (2015) argues the last decade has seen a growing trend in scholars examining legacy; however, the majority of research is inclined to examine specific elements of legacy. This development has led to increased interest in the need, function and nature of the concept; however, there remains many discrepancies in the definition of legacy, and it is often confused with further terminologies of ‘leveraging’, ‘sustainability’ or ‘impacts’ (Preuss 2015, p. 644). In order to investigate the discrepancies and difficulties in conceptualising event legacies, this section is structured using the main issues discussed throughout the literature, namely the development of the concept of legacy (Tomlinson 2014), defining legacy (Thomson et al. 2013; Kassens-Noor et al. 2015), legacy typologies (Leopkey and Parent 2016) and the element of time in legacy (Preuss 2015).

2.2.1 Legacy development

Historically, until the mid 1980’s, there was minimal reference of any concern with the term legacy in IOC documents (Tomlinson 2014). Cashman and Horne (2013) believe, in relation to sports mega events, the growth in the use of the legacy concept coincided with the evolution in the size of the Olympic Games, stating that ‘gigantism’ and the increasing number of ‘white elephants’ in post-Olympic cities were a motivator to secure positive legacies (Cashman and Horne 2013; Scott 2014). Tomlinson (2014) suggests that ‘mere survival’ was the main concern for IOC up until the 1980’s, which saw political boycotts, long-term debt, terrorism and human rights issues placed firmly on the Olympic agenda.

Leopkey and Parent (2012, p. 925) propose the ‘sport event legacy’ can be seen to have been developing as a key concept for organising committees hosting major events since the late 1980s. However, research also suggests hints of legacy starting to inform the official Olympic reports

prior to 1980 (Kaplanidou and Karadakis 2010; Thomson et al. 2013). For example, Melbourne 1956 mentioned the Games as a ‘continuing asset’, and the organiser of Montreal 1976 wrote of their intention to launch an ‘inheritance of benefit’ (Gold and Gold 2010; Tomlinson 2014). The following years saw the inclusion of transport facilities legacy (Thornley 2012) and environmental legacy (Giriginov and Hills 2008). The concept of legacy soon became a rhetorical tool for mega event cities (Tomlinson 2014). This can be seen when the 1996 Atlanta Centennial Olympic Games Organising Committee included in their aim: ‘To leave a positive physical and spiritual legacy and an indelible mark on Olympic history by staging the most memorial Olympic Games ever’ (Chappelet 2014, p. 75). Scott (2014) argues the notion of legacy noticeably gathered momentum following the Sydney 2000 Olympic Games, having been building in motion and understanding over a number of decades (Kaplanidou and Karadakis 2010; Leopkey and Parent 2012; Thompson et al. 2013).

Introduced in 2003, following a joint symposium held at the IOC Olympic Studies Centre in Barcelona in November 2002 (Scott 2014), the 14th mission of the IOC (2011, p.15) stated that it is the IOC’s role ‘to promote a positive legacy from the Olympic Games to the host cities and host countries’ (Cashman and Horne 2013). Thus, the term legacy was formally adopted in the IOC self-framing documents (Tomlinson 2014), which propelled the use of the concept and legacy governance into academic research and industry (Kaplanidou and Karadakis 2010; Leopkey and Parent 2012).

Legacy is described by Cashman and Horne (2013) as essentially a political tool used to promote seemingly simple and attractive ideas to the public, disguising any possible negative impacts for the host communities such as property rises, enforced purchases and relocation. Similarly, Gratton and Preuss (2008) argue that negative intangible legacies can arise from the loss of environment and gentrification. The issues concerning the disregard for negative legacy (Preuss 2015) is discussed further into this chapter, as well as the developing categorisations of legacies and the importance of time when considering sustainable legacies.

2.2.2 Defining legacy

Further to the development of legacy, defining the concept of legacy presents yet more difficulties; it has a number of meanings depending on language and culture (Morages et al. 2003; Gold and Gold 2009; Matheson 2010), creating a broadly questioned term which lacks understanding

(Davies 2012) and poses different meanings to different stakeholders (Preuss 2015). Furthermore, Cashman (2003) argues that legacy as a term has several different meanings in the English language and suggests anything left over from an event – be that positive or negative. Likewise, Leopkey and Parent (2012, p. 927) describe legacy's multiple meaning within the English language as, 'it is related to a gift of property left by will through an individual bequest or more generally anything remaining from a time period or event'. Sadd (2010, p. 266) states, 'traditionally legacy denotes something that "kicks in" as a results of something related happening, as it is pre-planned to happen at a certain time in the future'. However, Morages et al. (2003) explains that there are many meanings of the concept of legacy depending on different languages and cultures. Cashman (2003) supports this by stating that there is an absence of a direct translation of legacy in many European languages, and it proves problematic to translate into non-European languages. Leopkey and Parent (2012, p. 939) explain further by stating the French translation for legacy is 'heritage', and in German it is 'inheritance' (Cashman 2003). Similarly, Sadd (2010) describes discrepancies in many different languages adding that in Spanish legacy translates as 'hereditary inheritance'. Evidently, this differs from the desired meaning in the English (Cashman 2003; Homma and Masumoto 2013; Thomson, et al. 2013). Due the international nature of events, the need for a universally understood term for policy development, strategic management and evaluation is vital (Preuss 2007; Thomson et al. 2013).

There is an enormous variation of so called legacies within the literature from sports events; however, although often used, the concept of legacy is rarely defined within academic and non-academic literature (Gratton and Preuss 2008; Chappelet 2014). Much of event management literature has developed from more established fields such as tourism and sport tourism before being acknowledged as an academic discipline in its own right (Deery et al. 2004; Weed 2005; Smith 2012). Therefore, the process of defining legacy is seen to have emerged prior to defining the concept from an event context. From a tourism and events perspective, Getz (1991, p.340) suggests event legacy is 'the physical, financial, psychological, or social benefits that are predominantly bestowed on a community or region by virtue of hosting an event. The term can also be used to describe negative impact, such as debt, displacement of people, pollution and so on'. Hiller (2000, p.195) adds to this tourism and events definition with an urban sociology perspective, proposing legacy can also bring 'permanent improvements to the built environment. Social improvement, of course, may benefit some people more than others'. Both of these definitions indicate positive and negative elements of legacy; however, in terms of event legacies,

research suggests the potential negative legacies were unspoken until relatively recently (Dickson et al. 2011; Smith 2012).

Preuss (2015, p. 645) states, 'it was only after 2005 that scholars began to take a more complex view of legacy and to place more emphasis on social, environmental and political legacies', an interest that Smith (2009) attributes to the increased use of events as part of public policy, therefore, creating a quick growth in legacy analysis. Furthermore, it was often assumed the term legacy encapsulated all that is positive about sport events and their ability to create positive change for stakeholders, communities and individuals (see Roberts 2007; Swart et al. 2011 Dickson et al. 2011; Leopkey and Parent 2012).

Considering the numerous studies of sport mega events legacy impacts, there are differing views within the research community on what legacy entails and how it should be defined, which complicates efforts to measure potential event legacies (Cornelissen et al. 2010; Leopkey and Parent 2012). In the context of major events, permanent or long-term impacts for a host city from staging an event are often recognised under the umbrella of legacy (Thomson et al. 2013). These highlighted areas include potential social, economic, physical, tourism and/or environmental factors (Thomson et al. 2013), which Gratton and Preuss (2008) break down into common aspects of urban planning and sport infrastructure and less common intangible elements of, not limited to, urban revival, enhanced international reputation, increased tourism. Due to the concept only gaining substantial academic interest during the 2000's (Leopkey and Parent 2012), to provide some clarity within the literature surrounding legacy justification, Thomson et al. (2013) completed a review of sport event legacy definitions from articles published from 1991 – 2008. This review highlighted the inconsistent conceptualisation of legacy across academic and industry practice (Gratton and Preuss 2008; Matheson 2010; Thomson et al. 2013). Functionally, legacy is used to mean an array of purposes; namely, justify public expenditure, motivate possible bidding cities, demonstrate the value of events and its infrastructural developments, and avert any critics away from the awarding body (Clark and Kearns 2015). Therefore, the logic and difficulties for harnessing a single, simple definition are evident. Aligned with Thomson et al.'s (2013) investigation of summer and winter Olympic and Paralympic Games, Dickson et al. (2011) argue the research has tended to focus on summer Olympic Games and tangible legacies of urban renewal, infrastructure and economy. Gratton and Preuss (2008, p. 1923) contribute various characteristics often cited when defining event legacy as:

Commonly recognised aspects (urban planning, sport infrastructure) to less recognised intangible legacies such as urban revival, enhanced international reputation, increased tourism, improved public welfare, additional employment, more local business opportunities, better corporate relocation, chances for city marketing, renewed community spirit, better interregional cooperation, production of ideas, production of cultural values, popular memory, education, experience and additional know-how.

Here, the number of potential intangible legacies is evident; however, Clark and Kearns (2015) argue the tendency to focus on tangible economic issues rather than social impacts is common with event legacy literature. In contemporary event legacy literature, committees such as the International Olympic Committee (IOC) place direct attention onto long-term impacts of large urban development accentuating legacy planning (Davisson and McNeill 2012), and an evaluation of the potential legacy has become a major element of the bid process (Hartman and Zandberg 2015). This is said to be one of the main reasons that the term legacy has become recurrent in academic and non-academic discussions of sport mega events (Reis et al. 2014).

Coaffee (2013) suggests that the legacy of hosting major sporting events generally refers to encouraging the social, economic and environmental regeneration of host cities, explaining further that staging major sporting events has now become a significant factor in policy objectives and city promotion. Similarly, Smith (2009) agrees that social equity, environmental integrity and economic efficiency, or in other words the triple-bottom line, are used to measure movement towards sustainable development. Gratton and Preuss (2008) highlight that, although there is little consensus on defining legacy, the International Olympic Committee (IOC) do employ the concept of 'event legacy'; however, Gratton and Preuss (2008) claim that the use of event legacy within the IOC is rather narrow and fails to recognise commonly mentioned features of legacy from current literature. The limited focus of Organising Committee's (OC) is further examined by Cashman (2006), who states that an encapsulating event legacy definition is difficult to provide when OCs often assume legacies to be completely positive. These positives are often assumed to benefit the local community post-event (Cashman 2006; Gratton and Preuss 2008; Dickson et al. 2011; Leopkey and Parent 2012) and fail to recognise the examples of negatives legacies reported with event legacy research such as: unmanageable infrastructure post-event, loss of tourism, high debts, increased opportunity costs and socially exploited host communities (Gratton and Preuss 2008; Leopkey and Parent 2012).

Leopkey and Parent (2012, p. 927) highlight that 'governments of cities, regions, and nations continue to submit bids and pursue various types of mega sporting events'. Preuss (2015) suggests

by recognising the dimension of intention in legacy planning from the bidding stage, planners can take into account that legacies may be negative. This dimension can be seen to have emerged from Chappelet's (2012) legacy dimensions, highlighted by Preuss (2015) to demonstrate the growth in understanding and acknowledgement of potential unintentional legacies. Furthermore, taking into consideration the notions of unplanned and negative legacies, Chappelet and Junod (2006, p.84) suggest defining legacy as 'the material and non-material effects produced directly or indirectly by the sport event, whether planned or not, that durably transform the host region in an objectively and subjectively positive or negative way'. More recently, Chappelet (2012, p.77) provides a working definition of mega sport events as 'all that remains and may be considered as consequences of the event in its environment'. This vague conceptualisation of legacy can be suggested to underpin Chappelet's (2012) argument that the continued categorisation of legacy is ineffective and clarifies further that while legacy requires a depth of understanding, that does not mean it should be endlessly segmented. Rather, Chappelet (2012) argues legacy can be divided into dimensions relating to personal or regional, sporting or non-sporting, local or global and intentional or unintentional. Hence, this allows for each dimension, including positive and negative elements, to be acknowledged when outlining what legacy is for a host city (Preuss 2015).

The overall complexity in defining legacy can be seen to include difficulties in the language employed and its international meaning (Preuss 2007; Thomson et al. 2013), the inclusion of potential negative outcomes (Chappelet 2012; Preuss 2015) and the number of legacy definitions provided from the literature (Thompson et al. 2013; Rogerson 2016). When aiming to understand the concept of legacy, the following sections provide an examination of the rise in legacy typologies.

2.2.3 Typologies

The elusive nature of legacy definitions is further evidenced through the variety of terminologies emerging within event research and industry documents such as impacts, benefits (Dickson et al. 2011; Preuss 2015), consequences (Morages et al. 2003), outcomes or structures (Preuss 2014, 2015); these are noticeable and often preferred to a definition by some authors (Thomson et al. 2013). Dickson et al. (2011) suggest the tendency to categorise event legacies has emerged as an avoidance tactic to providing a legacy definition. Leopkey and Parent (2012) posit the complexity of legacy does not stop there and is only increasing due to the number of legacy themes emerging from hosting documents. For example, Glasgow alone provides ten legacy themes, as discussed in

Chapter 1, representing areas such as economic, tourism, environmental and physical legacies. Equally, Leopkey and Parent (2012, p. 932) present thirteen sport event legacy themes: cultural, economic, environmental, image, informational/educational, nostalgia, Olympic movement, political, psychological, social issues, sport, sustainability and urban when reviewing Olympic Games bid documents. Thus, it is unsurprising there are complex difficulties (Stewart and Rayner 2016) and a risk of complications when managing multiple strands to define as legacy (Davies 2012).

Furthermore, Preuss (2014, 2015) states that academic research offers many legacy terminologies, which are largely over-lapping between the different categories or themes produced. Similarly, Leopkey and Parent (2012) conclude that Games legacies are becoming more interconnected with individual themes no longer existing without significant overlap into another theme. In an attempt to clarify legacy definitions and allow separation from other terms such as leveraging or impact, Preuss (2014, p. 27) proposes six event structures which aim to answer ‘the central legacy question’ of what is legacy. Recently, Preuss (2015) specified further that his framework aims to answer the what, who, how and when of legacy and its stakeholders. The proposed structures include five developed pre-event: infrastructure, knowledge, policy, networks and culture; and, one dependant on the event energy: emotion. Examples of Preuss’ (2014, 2015) structures are shown in Table 4.

Table 4 Six event structures

Event Structure	Examples
Infrastructure	roads, airports, public transport, venues, parks, power supply, sewage plants, recycling factories, harbours, housing, beach sides, fairgrounds
Knowledge	volunteering, bidding processes, employee up-skilling, pupils education programs, event organization, research, service skills
Policy	education (school curricula), security, sport, environment, social, public policies (city, state and nation), laws
Emotions	image, celebration, camaraderie, memories, stories ‘to talk about
Networks	amongst politicians, sport officials, environmental activists, security persons

Culture	cultural identity, nation building, traditional habits
----------------	--

Preuss (2014, p. 29, 2015 p. 651)

The structure provided by Preuss (2014, 2015) contain both intangible and tangible elements of event legacy, which is important to enable a balanced legacy examination (Smith 2012; Rogerson 2016). The use of structures to expand upon elements of legacy is evident throughout legacy documentation, albeit in various terminologies including categories (Minnaert 2012), themes (Leopkey and Parent 2012) and pathways (McCartney et al. 2013). It can be argued that legacy themes are commonly employed within hosting documents to expand on aspects of a city's legacy plan (see Glasgow City Council 2009; Scottish Government 2009; London 2012; Glasgow 2014).

The complexity of defining major event legacy is evident from Preuss' (2015, p. 647) production of 'elements of a definition of legacy' (Table 5). Using the previous legacy literature as a starting point, Preuss (2015) proposes the need for clearer legacy dimensions in order to distinguish this concept from other emerging trends within event research such as sustainability and leveraging.

Table 5 Elements of a definition of legacy

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It lasts longer than the event and its directly initiated impacts. Legacies can derive from structures already completed before the event, but most legacy stems from changed location factors after the event takes place (time).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It produces new opportunities out of an initial impact and may even develop its own dynamics over time as the environment changes (new initiatives).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It consists of changes that bring positive outcomes for some stakeholders and negative outcomes for others (value).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It may be tangible or intangible, or material or non-material (tangibility).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is essentially limited to a defined space, that is, a city, but some of its effects may extend beyond the city. It can be individual (affecting only one person) and local, or international and global (space).
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It is often developed indirectly by the event. A negative legacy reminds us that outcomes may be unintentional (intention).

Preuss (2015, p. 647)

The notion behind providing supplementary information to enable a clearer understanding is accepted; however, research does suggest that the continuing growth in defining terminologies and segmentation only increases confusion (Leopkey and Parent 2012), overlapping themes (Chappelet 2012) and demonstrates a tendency to avoid providing a definition (Dickson et al. 2011).

In addition, McCartney et al. (2013, p.24) propose seven pathways through which event impacts might arise. These pathways are 'economic growth, increased sports participation, increased pride and sense of identity, volunteering, improved environment and legacy programmes'. Leopkey and Parent (2012, p. 924) suggest the 'increased importance of legacy in the modern Olympic movement, many trends have emerged. Examples of modern trends include numerous new legacy themes, changes in types of legacy, increased complexity and interconnectedness found within typologies of legacies and legacies overall governance'. These trends and expansion of what legacy has grown to encapsulate perhaps cause wider confusion when discussing any potential legacies, especially when said discussions are often aimed to be understood by a wide audience including national and international stakeholders (Leopkey and Parent 2012).

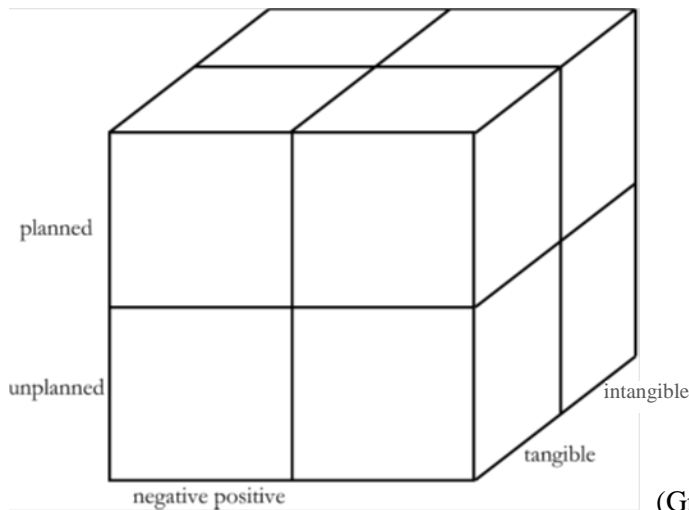
2.2.4 Time

Adding to the complexity of legacy (and parallel to the definitions) is the widely acknowledged view that legacy is evolving, relating to before, during and after the main event (Sadd 2010; Chappelet 2012; Clark and Kearns 2015; Preuss 2015; Rogerson 2016). Halbwirth and Toohey (2013) advise that to allow informed planning, organising committees must implement robust and flexible policies, information infrastructures and services from up to seven years pre-Games. Hartman and Zandberg (2015) suggest events can have an impact upon host destinations after, during or before the event; this is commonly what is referred to as legacy. However, while Sadd (2010) recognises the growth of including a pre-Games period in legacy acknowledgement, Preuss (2015) suggests that legacy is predominantly concerned with changes occurring after the event.

Furthermore, in terms of major events, the legacy discourse can be seen to encourage the addition of legacy implications and effects into overall event aims and motives (Sadd 2010). Supporting the holistic nature of legacy, Preuss (2007, p.211) offers legacy as a three dimensional concept defined as 'irrespective of time or production and space, legacy is all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible structures created for and by a sport event that remain longer than the event itself'. A visual of his definition (Figure 1) can be used to complete a holistic evaluation

of a major event identifying all legacies (Preuss and Gratton 2008; Swart et al. 2011; Cornelissen et al. 2010; Hartman and Zandberg 2015).

Figure 1 Legacy Cube



(Gratton and Preuss 2008, p. 1924)

Preuss (2007, p. 212) suggests, ‘the legacy cube can only be evaluated for a particular time and space ... if the legacy for a whole country if required, several legacy cubes need to be considered for different time and spaces’. With this in mind, Dickson et al. (2011, p. 290) propose that the failure to include time and space in the ‘cube’, ‘Preuss may have marginalised two of the most important aspects of evaluating and visualising legacies for host communities, i.e. where and for how long?’. Dickson et al. (2011) suggest that, aligned with the need for longitudinal research on major event legacies, thought should be given to the temporal dimension of legacies as well as the spatial elements in this visual representation of legacy. Hence, by including the ‘time over which legacy occurs beyond the immediacy of the event and the geographical dispersal of legacies beyond geographical limits of the event venues and host communities’ (Dickson et al. 2011, p. 290), a fuller extent of potential legacies can be examined. In spite of this advised addition to the cube representation, Rogerson (2016) claims that Gratton and Preuss’ 2008 legacy definition remains favoured by most and often cited.

Furthermore, Davis and Thornley (2010, p.90) suggest, ‘after so many Games, the legacy plans have been diverted by having to sell off assets to the highest bidder in order to balance the Olympic budget.’ Thus, this can lead to potential negative impacts of such events, such as eviction and displacement. A further concern of Games legacy is highlighted by Leopkey and Parent (2012, p. 927); ‘the fact that organising committees are temporary organisations and are generally disbanded

within two years of the event's conclusion when in reality it takes several years before legacies can be properly evaluated'. The legacy commitment post-Games is commonly referred to within literature in various contexts such as key strategies (Davies 2012), to sport development (Frawley and Toohey) and discrepancies between bidding and delivery (Stewart and Rayner 2016); however, Solberg (2013) proposes that many organising bodies are disbanded within a short space of time after the event commencing therefore there must be a sustained commitment of resources from the host city governing bodies to realise legacy ambitions. In the context of Glasgow, Christie and Gibb (2015, p. 877) argue:

As part of Glasgow City Council's (GCC) strategic remit, a dedicated 2014 legacy strategy was launched in 2009: the Glasgow Legacy Framework (Glasgow City Council, 2009), with the same Audit Scotland report setting out the requirements for clear governance structures for legacy delivery. The Glasgow Legacy Framework (GLF) covers a 10-year period up to 2019 and ensures that planning for a lasting legacy is fully embedded into all GCC's core strategic activity towards 2014. The GLF also committed GCC to the establishment of legacy governance structures to support the implementation of the Legacy Framework, with the rollout and implementation of the city's legacy strategy across Glasgow following thereafter.

The commitment post-Games to ensure the legacy plans are well resourced and continued is what Solberg (2013) suggests ultimately forms the Games legacy reputation and successes. Here, the element of time plays a role in what legacy is defined as for a host city, and when it is said to be managed until (Stewart and Rayner 2016). This is said to depend on the strength of pre-Games partnerships and governance to ensure post-event considerations are fully measured and adequately resourced (Christie and Gibb 2015).

This chapter has discussed a number of authors who have provided their interpretation of what legacy is (see Preuss 2007; Gratton and Preuss 2008; Chappelet 2012; Smith 2012). Preuss (2015) argues that much of the legacy conceptualisation concentrates on infrastructural or economic impacts. Focusing on the lasting change legacy encourages, Barget and Gouguet (2007, p. 170) describe legacy as, 'the satisfaction felt as a result of handing down a sporting event to future generations'. However, Preuss (2015, p. 645) states such definitions are 'unsatisfactory' due to the lack of recognition paid to negative legacies and sole attention placed on future generations. Preuss (2014, p. 35) sums up issues evaluating legacy as:

In the long term, most legacy loses its value. People age, and therefore networks and memories disappear. Knowledge and skills become out-dated, and the infrastructure becomes dated and may no longer satisfy modern demand.

He claims there will inevitably be consequences from hosting an event; therefore, holistic event legacy planning is essential when considering an increase in quality of life. It is only by doing so that 'they increase the ability to use future chances' to increase the opportunity of positive and sustainable legacies (Preuss in Grix 2014, p. 37).

Through the above analysis, and in order to ensure consistency throughout this research, Preuss' (2007) definition has been deemed most appropriate for this project and has been employed as the legacy definition. Amongst the varied and extensive conceptualisations of legacy, Rogerson (2016), when examining sport event legacy definitions in relation to the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games, proposes Preuss' (2007) legacy definition to be most commonly utilised for research purposes. As previously discussed, Preuss (2007, p. 2117) definition is: 'irrespective of time or production and space, legacy is all planned and unplanned, positive and negative, tangible and intangible'. This encompasses the key elements necessary for this project. Moreover, further research from Gratton and Preuss (2008) has advanced event legacy understanding through the production of the legacy cube (Figure 1) and provides an additional dimension to this definition, which allows it to be more applicable to this research.

2.3 Event legacy

When examining the development of Olympic legacies, Leopkey and Parent (2012) note that, much like the majority of legacy literature, tangible legacy types of the themes were dominant; however, intangible types were present in most. Furthermore, in addition to the infrastructural or economic legacies concerns, Preuss (2015) argues that an interest in environmental, social and political legacies in academic literature has developed since 2005. Many scholars have discussed legacies in connection with the Olympic Games (see Silvestre 2009; Minnaert 2012; Chappelet 2012; Leopkey and Parent 2012; Preuss 2015). Therefore, while Leopkey and Parent's (2012) research discussed legacy development and the Olympic movement, the following section provides a legacy discourse of the Commonwealth Games. Important for this research and the wider understanding of event legacies, the examination of Games legacies away from Olympic Games provides a broader context demonstrating the evolution of legacy growth and application within large sporting events. Furthermore, the ability to compare and evaluate Leopkey and Parent's (2012) Olympic legacy findings with Commonwealth Games examples allows for a wider understanding of major sporting event legacy themes and their development chronologically.

2.3.1 Commonwealth Games legacy

Much of the literature surrounding mega event legacies is concerning the Olympic Games (see Girginov and Hills 2008; Dickson et al. 2011; Agha, Fairley and Gibson 2012; Tomlinson 2014); however, the legacy concept can be seen to have filtered out into other large sporting events. Silvestre (2009) suggests that this is due to the increased competitiveness within Olympic bidding some cities have focussed their attention on other sporting events, e.g. Pan American Games or the Commonwealth Games. The status of these alternative events has grown in parallel with their hosting requirements. This trend is evident since Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games introduced a dedicated legacy programme to promote sustainable, positive legacies (Smith and Fox 2007; Li 2013), and Glasgow became the first Commonwealth Games to have an embedded legacy team (Engagement and Legacy) within their organising committee. This is a first for this major sporting event (Glasgow 2014).

Similar to Dickson et al.'s (2011) table of published material on Olympic and Paralympic legacy research (1986 – 2008), the author has gathered published material on Commonwealth Games legacy from (1982 – 2016). The 62 papers from this literature search can be seen in Table 6. The purpose of this table is to determine the emergence of legacy within the Commonwealth Games. The author completed a wide literature review using the terms 'impact', 'outcome', and 'legacy' in order to document where impacts were included and considered prior to the extensive use of the concept 'legacy'. The search was completed using a scholarly search of journal articles to include only research completed on the Games using the key words stated. Prior to the Brisbane 1982 Commonwealth Games, there were no research articles found, only news articles or reports completed by the local council or government; therefore, these earlier Games were not included in this table. Of the 62 articles cited, the vast majority are within the last decade with only 21 dated 2008 or before. This is presented in Table 6, and, much like Dickson et al.'s (2011) findings, there is a tendency to focus on tangible legacies such as sport facilities, economic, physical infrastructure and urban renewal within the early literature (Lynch and Jensen 1984; Muda 1998; Hall and Page 2000; Carlsen and Taylor 2003; Jones and Stokes 2003). Consideration for intangible legacies can be seen to gain a little interest from 2003 with social impacts (Jones and Stokes 2003) and civil boosterism, race and women (Beck 2004) emerging as research considerations. However, momentum for more socially directed research can be seen to grow substantially from 2007 and increasingly more so from 2012. Interestingly, this increase in social legacies caused some scholars

to look back and examine social impacts of early Games such as Hamilton 1930, London 1934 and Sydney 1938 (Williams 2014), Vancouver 1954 (Beck 2004; Phillips and Bouchier 2014) and Kingston 1966 (Dawson 2014). Evident in Table 6, Manchester Commonwealth Games in 2002 appears to have accelerated interest in Commonwealth Games legacy potential (e.g. Carlsen and Taylor 2003; Jones and Stokes 2003; Gratton, Shibli and Coleman 2005; Downward, Lumsden and Ralston 2005, 2006; Smith 2002; Preuss, Seguin and O'Reilly 2007; Smith and Fox 2007; Nichols and Ralston 2012). One reason for this may be that Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games established a 'Commonwealth Games Opportunities and Legacy Partnership Board' with the aim of managing the post-Games phase for the city. In addition, notable from Table 6 is the increased research questioning legacy, in particular Delhi Commonwealth Games 2010 (Uppal 2009; Majumdar and Mehta 2010; Majumdar 2012). This is aligned with the emergence of the concept of validity and increasing pressure to justify expenditure for lasting benefits (Reis et al. 2014).

A further trend evident in Table 6 that draws parallels from the evolution of legacy research is pre-Games legacy and legacy planning. A relatively recent addition to legacy's remit, within industry practice and academic research (Coaffee 2010), examination of potential impacts and planning processes are becoming commonplace. Authors such as Uppal (2009) discuss the potential urban regeneration impacts of the Delhi Commonwealth Games 2010 one year in advance; likewise, Black (2008) examines possible country development for India three years from hosting the 2010 Games. Furthermore, Porter et al. (2009) five years' pre-Games study investigated Games related displacement and community outcomes for Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. As demonstrated in Table 6, this trend has increased considerably within the last few years, e.g. Glasgow's 2014 Commonwealth Games were studied pre-Games regarding legacy planning and regeneration (Matheson 2010), community and economic impacts (Paton et al. 2012), regeneration (Gray and Mooney 2011), health impacts (McCartney et al. 2013), social positives and negatives (Martin and Barth 2013). Also, authors such as Byrne (2014) and Gallagher (2015) have conducted research regarding pre-Games examination of social impacts, legacy planning, legacy programmes, educational and cultural outcomes of the next Commonwealth Games in the Gold Coast in 2018 four and five years, respectively, in advance. Again, this trend displays a growing interest in Commonwealth Games legacy research similar to Olympic Games research concerning pre-Games commitments, as suggested by Kassens-Noor (2016). Kassens-Noor (2016) suggests that the importance of pre-Games research and planning is essential to secure post-Games legacies;

therefore, major event cities must understand their post-Games resourcing needs to enable the successful development of tangible and intangible legacies.

The intense growth of legacy research experienced post-Games concerning Manchester in 2002 has certainly not slowed down. Table 6 displays the sustained interest in event-led regeneration and major events through the amount of research on Glasgow's 2014 Games. This is in keeping with the interest in larger events such as the Olympic and Paralympic Games (Kassens-Noor 2012; Mangan and Dyreson 2013; Brownhill et al. 2013; Smith 2015). Glasgow 2014 became the first Commonwealth Games to have an entirely separate Legacy Team embedded in their structure. This was supported by a legacy framework from both The Scottish Government and Glasgow City Council, and, significantly for all major events, a dedicated legacy Minister (Scottish Government 2010; Legacy 2014). The advances within Games hosting both from the awarding body and host city are, perhaps unsurprisingly, a reason why the academic research has continued to expand.

Also illustrated in Table 6 is the reported growing interest in social legacy of major events (Cashman 2006; Sadd 2010). The expanding interest of social impacts is evident within larger event research (e.g. Toohey 2008; Smith 2012; Minnaert 2012; Misener et al. 2013; Davis 2016); hence, Table 6 displays similar growth within Commonwealth Games practice and, therefore, research. Notable recent additions to social aspects of the Commonwealth Games are homeless people (Gallagher 2015), physical activity (Clark and Kearns 2015), health impacts (Cleland et al. 2015), training opportunities (Quinn and Moore 2015), and para-sport legacies (Misener et al. 2015). Again, this mirrors advances in legacy concerns seen in earlier research regarding the Olympic and Paralympic Games (Darcy 2000; Toohey et al. 2000; Minnaert 2012).

The recent literature into Games volunteering can be seen to follow the trend of a possible wider, interrelated legacy emphasised through the studied links between volunteering and wellbeing, confidence, social capital and social networks (Woodall et al. 2016), and self-development, social capital and wellbeing (Jones and Yates 2015). Recent research has encouraged the need for a better understanding of the potential volunteer legacy (Nichols and Ralston 2012). Nichols and Ralston (2012) suggest there is a growing body of literature supporting ways in which volunteering can produce a multi-dimensional social legacy; namely, a growth in volunteer numbers, the development of a skilled volunteer workforce and encouraging social inclusion through volunteering. Volunteer research has tended to focus on volunteer motivations, satisfaction and the probability to continue to volunteer (McGillivray et al. 2013; Kristiansen 2015; Jones and Yates

2015); however, Nichols and Ralston (2012) suggest deeper examination of further potential legacy is needed. The trend into wider volunteering impacts can be seen to have grown in interest from 2005. Authors such as Downward et al. (2005), Downward and Ralston (2005; 2006) and Lockstone and Baum (2008; 2009) have researched Manchester 2002 Games and Melbourne 2006 Games volunteers as well as, more recently, Nichols and Ralston (2012), Jones and Yates (2015) and Woodall et al. (2016).

Lastly, major event research hosting and planning highlights the importance of collaboration and stakeholder partnership (Skinner et al. 2008; Smith et al. 2009; Swart et al. 2011; Christie and Gibb 2015). Major sporting events have the capacity to aid cooperation and direct strategies amongst different stakeholders towards a mutual cause (Hall 2006; Silvestre 2009). Bornstein (2010) suggests these major events are often associated with unique funding arrangements. Due to the cost and complexity of hosting these events, ‘they increasingly involve institutional developers or public-private partnerships’ (Bornstein 2010, p. 200). These partnerships are often used by governments as practical solutions to facilitate multifaceted projects (Bornstein 2010) and to justify expenditure (Reis et al. 2014; Clark and Kearns 2015); while justification has a mixed history of realising promised benefits (Sadd 2009; Davisson and McNeill 2012), Bornstein (2010) suggests mega-event organisers are becoming inclined to accommodate community concerns. With the rise in importance of successful legacy planning, Christie and Gibb (2015, p. 872) state, ‘the event-led regeneration legacy debate is closely related to research on understanding regeneration partnerships, governance and how policy networks can best achieve policy success’. With that being said, Table 6 suggests the start of informed legacy planning within the Commonwealth Games research; for example, Byrne (2014) examining the Gold Coast 2018 Games’ legacy initiatives and Christie and Gibb (2015) using the Glasgow 2014 Games as a case study of successful partnership working, which can inform and be used by major event hosting partnerships.

Overall, Table 6 can be seen to bring together the information needed to provide an up-to-date snapshot of the Commonwealth Games legacy evolution, much like Dickson et al. (2011) did for the Olympics and Paralympic Games. Furthermore, while this table is not exhaustive, it offers context to the case study of this thesis through the legacy development within major events’ practice and research from a major event perspective.

Table 6 Published material on the Commonwealth Games Legacy 1982 - 2016

Author and year of publication	Events Cited	Legacies discussed
Lynch and Jensen (1984)	Brisbane 1982	Economic, facilities
Muda (1998)	Kuala Lumpur 1998	Infrastructure, policy, sports facilities
Higham (1999)	Kuala Lumpur 1998 Melbourne 2006	Empty stadia, public demonstrations, media coverage Bidding controversy
Hall and Page (2000)	Kuala Lumpur 1998	Infrastructure, hotels, tourism
Brown and Massey (2001)	Manchester 2002	Sports development
Carlsen and Taylor (2003)	Manchester 2002	Urban renewal
Jones and Stokes (2003)	Manchester 2002	Infrastructure, social impact, employability
Beck (2004)	Hamilton 1930, Vancouver 1954	Civil boosterism, women, race, technological, costs, legislation, bidding, facilities
Westhuizen (2004)	Kuala Lumpur 1998	Sports development & facilities, infrastructure, economic
Gratton, Shibli and Coleman (2005)	Manchester 2002	Sport, economic regeneration
McDougall (2005)	Sydney 1938	Political, cultural
Downward, Lumsden and Ralston (2005)	Manchester 2002	Volunteering
Downward and Ralston (2005) & (2006)	Manchester 2002	Volunteering
Dawson (2006)	Vancouver 1954	Sporting infrastructure, youth participation, reputation, economic
Smith (2007)	Manchester 2002	Regeneration
Preuss, Seguin and O'Reilly (2007)	Manchester 2002	Visitors, economic

Black (2007)	Delhi 2010	Country development
Smith and Fox (2007)	Manchester 2002	Social, economic, event-themed regeneration
Misener and Mason (2008)	Edmonton 1978	Strategy
Lockstone and Baum (2008)	Melbourne 2006	Tourism, national and international brand, infrastructure, organisational relationships, volunteers, economic
Lockstone and Baum (2009)	Melbourne 2006	Volunteering
Veal and Frawley (2009)	Melbourne 2006	Sports participation
Uppal (2009)	Delhi 2010	Urban regeneration
Porter et al. (2009)	Glasgow 2014	Displacement
Gorman (2010)	Hamilton 1930	Physical infrastructure
Gorman (2010)	London 1934	Women (track & field)
Majumdar and Mehta (2010)	Delhi 2010	Questionable legacy
Matheson (2010)	Glasgow 2014	Regeneration, legacy planning
McCartney et al. (2010)	Glasgow 2014	Health impact
Dawson (2011)	Vancouver 1954, hosts between 1950 – 1990, Kuala Lumpur, Melbourne 2006, Manchester 2002, Delhi 2010, Kingston 1966	Tourism, global publicity, economic, sports facilities & infrastructure, benefit local youth, increase modernity, urban redevelopment, tangible benefits for athletes
Cook and Ward (2011)	Manchester 2002	Regeneration, knowledge exchange, bidding, reputation
Gray and Mooney (2011)	Glasgow 2014	Regeneration
Paton, Mooney and McKee (2012)	Glasgow 2014	Regeneration, planning, host community, economic
Majumdar (2012)	Delhi 2010	Accidental legacy

Paton, Mooney and McKee (2012)	Glasgow 2014	Class, regeneration, economic, citizenship, social change, legacy plans
O'Hare, Bajracharya and Khanjanasthiti (2012)	Gold Coast 2018	Social, economic, tourism, infrastructure
Nichols and Ralston (2012)	Manchester 2002	Volunteering
Romanos (2013)	Auckland 1950	Political (strengthening empire bonds)
Nishio (2013)	Auckland 1990	Tourism
Baviskar (2013)	Delhi 2010	Economic, social change, costs, infrastructure, environmental, gentrification, political
McCartney et al. (2013)	Glasgow 2014	Health impact
Martin and Barth (2013)	Glasgow 2014	Positive & negative social impacts, positive economic impacts, severe social and public risks, price rises
Phillips and Bouchier (2014)	Hamilton 1930	Civic pride, sport infrastructure, economic
Polley (2014)	All	Political, historical
Ryan (2014)	Sydney 1938, Auckland 1950	Economic (loss), women, political
Williams (2014)	London 1934, Sydney 1938	Women
Williams (2014)	All	Economic
Dawson (2014)	Kingston 1966	Host community, congestion, crime, economic, tourism
Skillen and McDowell (2014)	Edinburgh 1970	Marketing
Byrne (2014)	Gold Coast 2018 Manchester 2002	Legacy planning and programmes, political, economic, social, educational, cultural Regeneration

Gray and Porter (2014)	Glasgow 2014	Regeneration, displacement, infrastructure
Gallagher (2015)	Gold Coast 2018	Homeless people
Jones and Yates (2015)	Glasgow 2014	Volunteering
Cleland et al. (2015)	Glasgow 2014	Health impacts (GoWell East Programme)
Christie and Gibb (2015)	Glasgow 2014	Partnerships, collaborative working
Clark and Kearns (2015)	Glasgow 2014	Physical activity, regeneration
Quinn and Moore (2015)	Glasgow 2014	Training opportunities
Misener et al. (2015)	Glasgow 2014	Para-sport
Hodgetts and Duncan (2015)	Melbourne 2006	Sports participation
Rogerson (2016)	Glasgow 2014	Defining legacy, planning, social, economic, regeneration, political, environmental
Clark and Kearns (2016)	Glasgow 2014	Economic
Kassens-Noor (2016)	Delhi 2010	Transport, urban development
Osbourne (2016)	Delhi 2010	Media representation
Woodall et al. (2016)	Glasgow 2014	Volunteering

2.4 Event regeneration

Urban regeneration is employed within contemporary governance to not only catalyse infrastructural and economic development, but also to include and enhance the environmental and social well-being of the area (Christie and Gibb 2015). Clark and Kearns (2015, p. 888) state, ‘regeneration strategies come in many guises relating to housing, economic cluster development, culture, and sport, amongst others – and have become commonplace in response to urban decline’. Similarly, McCartney et al. (2013, p. 25) discuss the increased use of regeneration strategies in areas of urban decline stating that ‘a trend is emerging where the most deprived areas of large cities

use utilised as event locations, largely because of the available ‘brownfield’ land and the perception that the event will bring social and economic regeneration to a blighted city area’. The use of events as a motive for such city improvements is commonplace within bidding documents; hence, major events provide opportunities to improve infrastructure while the expenditure is offset against regeneration improvements such as housing, sewerage and airports (Sadd 2010). The following section reviews event regeneration literature, specifically examining the influence of hosting a major event has on regeneration outcomes. In context of Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games, McCartney et al. (2013, p. 28) highlighted potential legacies from ‘improved environment’ through new housing, improved urban design and transport improvements directly linked to potential health, wellbeing and social impacts. This is especially relevant in the East End of Glasgow where the majority of Games related regeneration was targeted. The following sections of this chapter introduce event-led regeneration elements relevant to the case of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games including urban regeneration, infrastructural development and legacy planning in order to provide context for communities living in major event urban regeneration areas.

2.4.1 Urban regeneration legacy

As long as there have been cities, their development has been planned and controlled in some way (Hall and Barrett 2012). More specifically, associated with major sporting events, new sports-related experiences and stadia can be seen to target cities aiming to re-image and construct a new place identity away from an unattractive industrial past (Gratton, Dobson and Shibli 2001; Coalter 2007). For many post-industrial cities around the world, the role of arts and culture has been central in developing tourism, generating wealth and reversing the economic downturn brought by the post-industrial era (Murphy and Boyle 2006; Coalter 2007; Smith 2011). This is further examined by Hiller (2006, p. 322) through a comprehensive analysis of the Olympic Games and its strong post-modern city ties. He argues, ‘If the city was once the place for the space intensive and labour intensive activity of the factory and then the office, the post-modern city with its emphasis on services is now increasingly coming to be defined by consumptive leisure in culture, dining and entertainment’. Glasgow, as Clark and Kearns (2015, p. 888) discuss, is a prime example of a post-industrial city that has struggled to manage ‘the challenge of transitioning from a manufacturing base towards the service sector’. Currently, tourism is prioritised as one of Glasgow’s most

important industries; therefore, hosting the Commonwealth Games was an opportunity to stimulate growth for Glasgow through maximising its global reach (Glasgow City Council 2010).

Events have a long history of being used as catalysts for physical regeneration (Smith and Fox 2007). Bornstein (2010) states large-scale projects are vital elements in city development strategies. Whether the city invests in 'a new stadium, a world-class museum, a high-speed rail line, or another Petronus-like tower' (Bornstein 2010, p. 199) projects, such as major events, promote cities internationally as a competitor for investment, tourism, knowledgeable workers and status. Hiller (2006) contributes several reasons why the Olympic Games contribute to the post-modern city ranging from the development to new facilities to increased polarisation of the urban communities wealth.

Serving as a catalyst for escalating or expanding regeneration plans, mega events are often cited as a companion to urban regeneration initiatives (Wang, Bao and Lin 2015; Kassens-Noor et al. 2015). Research into regeneration in the UK has broadened its scope since the 1990s (Christie and Gibb 2015). Attempts made at restructuring post-industrial cities are widely reported within urban regeneration literature (Garcia 2004; Coalter 2007; Smith 2012; Thornley 2012). Christie and Gibb (2015) suggest that event-led regeneration initiatives are noticeably considering public and private infrastructure investment potential, tourism capacity and urban capacity to incorporate the event into wider urban renewal and growth strategies. Many cities are using events to stimulate specific regeneration initiatives; for example, London 2012 and Glasgow 2014 have supplemented 'hard' impacts by inspiring 'softer' social, cultural and economic regeneration (Smith and Fox 2007; Sadd 2009; Smith 2011). Although gaining popularity in recent years, Smith and Fox (2007) describe the inclusion of 'softer' impacts as a rarity. Cities such as Liverpool and Glasgow are examples of where UK governance has embraced urban design as a requirement and distinctive feature of urban regeneration in their most deprived areas (Biddulph 2011). More recently, the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games heavily emphasised major event regeneration in the city's East End (Rayner and Stewart 2016), as well as social element to the Games from the bidding stage (Girginov and Hills 2008) including sports participation (Devine 2013) and improved health benefits (Smith et al. 2012).

London's legacy ambitions for regeneration were based primarily in East London, where infrastructural improvements saw the building of new facilities and the Olympic Park. The wider legacy consideration for the UK concerned skills and employability, economic impact, increased

physical activity through sports and encouraging volunteering (Gordziejko 2014). Evident from the bidding staged, London 2012's bid was underpinned by themes, including leaving a lasting legacy of benefitting the community through regeneration (Sadd 2010). Furthermore, London 2012 was also seen to build the main Olympic and Paralympic site in Stratford, an area suffering from urban decline and with available brownfield space (McCartney et al. 2013). Prior to London 2012, the 17th Commonwealth Games in Manchester 2002 is said to have been the inaugural British city to pursue an ambitious legacy programme designed around a major sporting event (Smith and Fox 2007). Using the example of the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games Legacy Programme, Smith and Fox (2007) describe their approach as event-themed rather than event-led where initiatives were not entirely reliant on the Games themselves but rather the 2002 North West Economic and Social Single Regeneration Budget Programme. Therefore, the innovative economic and social regeneration scheme was adopted to run in conjunction *with* the Commonwealth Games rather than *because* of the Games (Smith and Fox 2007). Furthermore, to put London 2012's and Glasgow 2014's regeneration in context, London, as a major global tourism destination already, based its Olympic Park and therefore principle regeneration area in the socially deprived area in East London, specifically the Lower Lea Valley (Sadd 2011). Davis and Thornley (2010, p. 90) describe the East End of London as 'long associated with low paid and casual dockland employment'; furthermore, 'Stratford and the Lower Lea Valley, although only four miles from central London, have always been cut off by poor access, the river, and derelict land'. Therefore, the regeneration potential within this area was strongly promoted from the bidding stage (Davis and Thornely 2010). Similarly, Glasgow's main regeneration site was located in one of the city's most socially and economically disadvantaged areas in the East End of the city, Dalmarnock (McCartney et al. 2013). Post-industrial ties are evident throughout Glasgow's Legacy framework, as is using the hosting of the Games to encourage change.

Due to the previous industrial use of land in the East End of Glasgow, many of the sites being used in and around the East End of Glasgow relating to Glasgow 2014, are potentially contaminated and/or derelict land. Through Glasgow 2014, the remediation of certain sites has been made possible, by bringing them back into use and leaving a lasting legacy in the East End of the city (Glasgow City Council 2010, p.50).

This excerpt provides a contemporary example of the use of events in a post-industrial city. Likewise, a shift in event regeneration has helped focus emphasis on long-term outcomes rather than short-term impacts (Smith 2011). Similarly, to avoid gentrification issues, McCartney et al. (2013, p. 32) state that for Glasgow 'other than the Games village, there is little or no regeneration

planned as part of the 2014 Games that was not already planned before Glasgow won the right to play host'. In this instance, it would appear the Commonwealth Games is a size suited for Glasgow as a host city as Muller (2015) argues cities should avoid attempting to make large-scale event fit with major urban regeneration plans and, instead, select an event that is within the city's hosting capacity and only build if necessary for hosting a major event.

The potential and promise that events pose to encourage change and improvement is not always unanimously positive (Davis and Thornley 2010). One extensively deliberated area of urban studies literature is gentrification (Hall and Barrett 2012). Gentrification, loosely defined as when a working-class or unoccupied city centre area is reconditioned into an area of middle-class residents and/or commercial use (Lees, Slater and Wyly 2008; Hall and Barrett 2012), is surrounded with difficulties (Miles in Paddison and Miles 2007) and involves resident as well as businesses being removed to make way for the staging of a mega event (Watt 2013). With urban regeneration, although packaged positively, the results can be negative (Miles in Paddison and Miles 2007; Hall and Barrett 2012). Sadd (2010, p. 266) sets out the long connection with major events and their use as a facilitator of urban renewal, describing that, despite this history, often event-led regeneration happens 'without clearly articulating what change occurs and for whom, thus paving the way for gentrification'. Davis and Thornley (2010) discuss the notion of gentrification as upgrading areas of urban decline, hopefully, resulting in successful urban renewal with reinvigorated physical and social communities. Yet, they argue this is often not the case and many community members will not feel any benefits or may be in a worse position than before (Davis and Thornley 2010). Mega-event regeneration projects, such as Olympic Games projects, while only occurring every four years, traditionally remain 'associated with displacement of low-income residents, increased tax burdens for residents, increased real estate prices, and few visible social benefits' (Bornstein 2010, p. 202). Often, since the economic impacts are usually positive, it is assumed the social outcomes will also be; however, while events may accrue positive economic benefits the social impact may be negative (Sadd 2010).

Gentrification and displacement can and have been major issues for many event host cities (Lees Slater and Wyly 2008; Porter et al. 2009; Hall and Barrett 2012). Examples of gentrification can be seen in the cases of both Barcelona 1992 and Sydney 2000 Olympic Games, where the existing community was noticeably replacement with more affluent social classes (Sadd 2010). Displacement frequently happens to clear a site needed for the event; for example, it was estimated that roughly 1.25 million people were evicted in Beijing for the 2008 Olympic Games and 720,000

in Seoul in 1988 (Davis and Thornley 2010). Literature in this area, much like urban and event policy, recognises the importance of economic impacts (Miles and Paddison and Miles 2007; Hall and Barrett 2012) and, more recently, the significant need for lasting and meaningful social engagement through any regeneration processes (Miles in Paddison and Miles 2007; Pratt 2009). Hence, Sadd (2010) states that for event-led regeneration projects to be successful there must be communication on how to benefit the existing community rather than the new incomers who relocated to the regenerated area post-Games. This, however, is often questioned within urban regeneration literature, drawing from research on previous Games related regeneration projects scholars argue that the regeneration should benefit the existing communities and not the new communities who move into developed area (Sadd 2010). Literature also indicates that, despite the cultural (Pratt 2009) and sport focussed (Coalter 2007) turn in recent years, displacement of local communities is, more often than not, an eventual result of mega sporting events (Smith 2009; Porter et al. 2009; Wang, Bai and Lin 2015). Moreover, Wang, Bao and Lin (2015) report a number of negative impacts felt by host communities such as social concerns of increased crime and noise, and further segregation between wealthy and poorer communities. Paton et al. (2012, p. 1477) discuss the use of gentrification in major events policy. It is suggested by the authors that the current definition of gentrification, 'as the creation of space for the progressively more affluent user', should be redefined for modern context, stating that 'gentrification policies fulfil financial and cultural imperatives by seeking to cultivate aspiration and realign traditional working-class identities to be more congruent with post-industrial neo-liberalism'. Here, parallels can be drawn with this definition and the shift in encouraging host community involvement in regeneration processes and result post-Games (Misener and Mason 2006; Smith 2012; Minnaert 2012).

Similar to a number of areas within events-related regeneration literature, there is little evidence to support the concept of a lasting positive legacy from urban development associated with mega-events, and what evidence exists is fragmented and contested particularly for those vulnerable in urban change (Lenskyj 2002; Porter et al. 2009; Davies 2012). In terms of sporting events, the nature of short-term funding paired with lack of resources or expertise can be seen to provide some explanation towards to gap in achieving and measuring lasting change (Coalter 2007). Although the regeneration rationale for hosting mega-events has been developing for many years, substantiation of definite research into urban 'regeneration' or 'renewal' through events is insufficient (Evans in Gold and Gold 2010). In addition, the need for further research into long-term societal influence and event impacts would be useful in verifying the questions surrounding

the role of event-related regeneration. Several authors, including Lenskyj (2002), Hall (1997) and Sadd (2009), question if the benefits from events truly accrue to the most deserving and whether the public expenditure is justified (Sadd 2009; Davisson and McNeill 2012). Atlanta 1996 Olympic Games highlight this balancing act between justified Olympic spending and benefiting the most disadvantaged where \$350 million in public funds were diverted from low incomes housing and the social services fund, as well as 9,500 units of affordable housing was lost to fund the Olympic preparation (Sadd 2010).

Despite these challenging views, the use of events as urban catalyst for regeneration place promotion and image enhancement is a continuing and powerful occurrence evident worldwide (Chalkley and Essex 2000; Hall 2006; Coalter 2007; Sadd 2009; Gold and Gold 2010; Davies 2012). Frequently, as countries prepare to host mega and major events such as the Olympic Games or Commonwealth Games, a central reasoning communicated to local community is the potential benefits or legacy that will be left for the host country and community (Gold and Gold 2008; Dickson et al. 2011). The emphasis now placed on a long-term approach highlights the strong ties between regeneration and the broader concept of sustainable development (Smith et al. 2009). In correlation with the development of literature questioning event-related urban regeneration is research concerning the potential negative effects of prioritising economic over socio-cultural dialogues (Garcia 2004). Preuss (2015) suggests it is in fact a balancing act between the host cities economic social and environmental needs to ensure the correct legacy approach is taken for the host city. Although large events have long been associated with the physical regeneration of cities, future research is needed to address concerns of long-term social considerations and softer economic impacts (Balsas 2004; Smith and Fox 2007; Coalter 2007; Dickson et al. 2011; Davies 2012). Although there has been growth in the number of studies into legacy of large-scale events, few have focussed on regeneration legacy (Evans in Gold and Gold 2010; Davies 2012). In connection with a shifting event agenda (Smith 2011), further research into the complexities of long-term socioeconomic-cultural activities, whilst continuing to emphasise the value of monitoring these long-term legacies, is required (Garcia 2004; Pratt 2009).

2.4.2 Infrastructural development

Often included in the wider regeneration efforts for host cities, infrastructure improvements logically mean sport facilities for competition and training as well as what Gratton and Preuss (2008, p.1926) define as ‘airports, roads, telecommunications, hotels, housing (athletes, media and

officials), entertainment facilities, fair grounds, parks'. Davis and Thornley (2010, p. 89) suggest there 'is a long history of cities using Games to obtain lasting physical benefits for their cities beyond just the sporting facilities'. Li (2013, p. 429) defines physical legacies as 'the post-event use of venues and infrastructure; public, culture, politics, and sport legacies include the establishment of new partnerships and the formation of new policies'. The hosting of the majority of large-scale sporting events has often required the construction of new infrastructure (Preuss 2007; Muller 2015). Early examples of this include Rome in 1960 and Tokyo in 1964, where a main focus of regeneration was transport improvements (Davis and Thornley 2010). Host cities locating new facilities and associated infrastructures in brownfield sites provides one of the most obvious forms of tangible regeneration (Smith and Fox 2007). The construction of these facilities or infrastructures is often planned regeneration development for the city regardless of hosting an event (Li 2013), and is completed earlier due to the major event (Chappelet 2007). Hence, using the event impending deadline to speed up elements of the wider urban regeneration plans (Silverstre 2009). This is said to have been the case in Manchester in 2002 for the Commonwealth Games, as Gratton and Preuss (2008, p.1927) analysed how the current were influenced by 'time pressure, however, accelerated investment in major transport links, a new rail station, ground interchange at the airport, quality bus corridors.' In response to such city examples, Li (2013) proposes two categories for city regeneration and events. The first of Li's (2013, p. 427) categories concerns infrastructure that is needed to host the event, 'such as railways and undergrounds, which are built for a large event connecting the downtown and the areas of stadiums', e.g. Sydney's railway connecting the city to the Olympic area. Li (2013), while using Manchester as an example, discusses cities that had regeneration plans regardless of the Games, and places them into the second of two categories whereby the infrastructure would have been built as part of wider regeneration ambitions, but is completed ahead of schedule. Examples of this include Beijing, where the underground lines were expanded as part of wider regeneration plans with forethought to hosting the 2008 Olympics (Li 2013). Both the Helsinki Games in 1952 and the Melbourne Games of 1956 produced new Olympic Villages which were used post-Games as permanent residential housing (Essex and Chalkley 1998). London took the opportunity of hosting the 2012 Olympic Games to revive areas of East London (Sadd 2010). Similarly, Glasgow capitalised on hosting the Commonwealth Games to increase the redevelopment plans for the East End of Glasgow and the Clyde Waterfront Project with the addition of land renewal, housing and hotel developments (Glasgow City Council 2014; Clyde Gateway 2014).

The investment needed to host such large events is costly and, often, high expenditure does not guarantee large economic benefits (Li 2013). The infrastructure required and costs vary from Games to Games; for example, the 1996 Atlanta Olympics cost \$150 million in building event infrastructure and over \$400 million in constructing and upgrading sport facilities. Manchester spent £470 million on infrastructure and £200 million on venues on hosting the Commonwealth Games in 2002 (Li 2013). South Africa is reported to have spent an estimated \$7.3 billion on constructing stadiums and infrastructural improvements (Schausteck de Almeida et al. (2013).

Legacies from infrastructural improvements can be positive if event venues and infrastructure are well managed and utilised, while negative legacies are commonplace where facilities are underused and serve no purpose (Muller 2016). The investment, however, frequently brings value to the destination through infrastructure improvements, evident in Athens through upgraded airport, metro and airport links. Yet, some facilities still remain unused due to being oversized or too costly to upkeep (Smith and Fox 2007; Preuss 2007; Gratton and Preuss 2008). For example, Sydney's railway line built to connect the Olympic Park area to downtown Sydney is seldom utilised (Li 2013), and in Melbourne where the Olympic Village, after becoming a public sector housing development, was occupied by Greek, Italian and Maltese immigrants and experienced a number of social and physical difficulties. Scholars, therefore, have suggested that, in this case of Melbourne, the Games proved a catalyst for urban degeneration rather than regeneration (Essex and Chalkley 1998). This is also the case in literature surrounding the South African infrastructure left under-utilised after the FIFA 2010 World Cup (Schausteck de Almeida et al. 2013). The need for the development of new infrastructure has often been questioned within the literature; Preuss (2007) highlights questions are often aimed at determining if the developments provide any long-term enhancement for the host community or are purely for the Games (Preuss 2007). Schausteck de Almeida et al. (2013) posit that for developing nations, such as Brazil and South Africa, mega events are packaged as promoting and enabling tangible country development to justify the enormous public expenditure.

Davis and Thornley (2010, p.89) propose that often host cities do not consider what benefits the build structures and ongoing use of land, 'such as housing and transport infrastructure', that remain post-Games. Stadiums that go unused are referred to as 'white elephants' within academic and non-academic literature (Preuss 2007). These facilities have been described to have a 'somewhat cumbersome legacy' (Chappelet 2012, p.81), and, rather than accepting their maintenance costs, some host cities, for example Grenoble, France, demolished most of the sports facilities (Chappelet

2012). Temporary stadia, which does not mean low quality, is increasing in popularity as one example of how to negate the potential undesirable legacies from unused facilities (Preuss 2007) and reduce total costs (Li 2013). For London 2012, many of the venues were removed from the Olympic Park, leaving the Velodrome, Aquatics Centre, where seating capacity was reduced in size, and Main Stadium that has been reduced in size and continued to be used as a sporting venue (Thornley 2012). Controversially, in the case of Atlanta, the over use of temporary stadia caused the name 'The Disposable Games'; a result of the 1996 Olympic Committee implementing such a strict post-Games strategy regarding the use of the new sport facilities restricted the possible physical legacy (Smith and Fox 2007). This approach is in direct contrast with Athens 2004 Olympic Games where a strong infrastructural approach was employed (Minnaert 2012), and 95% of the planned infrastructural projects were permanent spatial constructions, thus encapsulating the dilemma faced by hosts in ensuring the investment is needed and used against the desire to leave a physical legacy (Smith and Fox 2007). This sparing approach to sporting event facilities and infrastructure is consistent with the IOC's desire to see future host cities reduce the scale of the Games, thereby decreasing costs and avoiding unnecessary new venues (Smith and Fox 2007). Cashman and Horne (2006), likewise, state the steady growth in legacy as a notion can be seen to have emerged with concerns about the size of Olympic Games. Li (2013) proposes that by reducing the amount, and therefore the cost, of event infrastructure, host cities could better utilise spending on welfare and community needs and increase effective use of venues post-Games.

Similarly, Clark and Kearns (2015) suggest that the inclusion of positive legacy consideration as part of any Olympic bid in the amended IOC's charter is a response to the increased spending trend towards gigantism and amplified risk of unmanageable 'white elephant' facilities. Glasgow, for the 2014 Commonwealth Games, was a prime example of this prudence and forethought with regard to its venues. The relatively modest new sports infrastructure build in the city (McCartney et al. 2013) is claimed to be a main reason for awarding the Games to Glasgow; the Commonwealth Games Federation (CWGF) post-Games report states Glasgow won the bid to host the 20th Commonwealth Games partly due to 70% of its sporting venues already existing (CWGF 2014). On the other end of the spectrum, the FIFA 2014 World Cup saw Brazil use twelve stadiums, and FIFA give the host country the option to utilise eight, 10 or 12 stadiums (FIFA 2014) with media reports still broadcasting about stadiums only just being completed in 2015 (BBC 2015). Li (2013) advises priority needs to be undoubtedly given to long-term functions to enable positive infrastructural legacies and, therefore, economic benefits.

2.4.3 Legacy planning & governance

2.4.3.1 Planning

The challenges facing forward thinking host cities, event professionals and governments when considering legacy planning and implementation are unsurprising considering the mixed legacy conceptualisations and typologies (Leopkey and Parent 2012). Cashman and Horne (2013, p. 50) provide a much needed review of ‘legacy-management processes that have emerged in the last decade’. Preuss (2015) states that changes associated with legacies are apparent from the time of an event being awarded; therefore, it is imperative legacy is planned. Cashman and Horne (2013) suggest that the methods of planning and managing legacy remain in the developmental stage with gaps and weaknesses apparent such as ensuring planning is a central component (Frawley and Toohey 2009), securing a long-term focus and relevant evaluation (Davies 2012), and managing stakeholder outcomes and resource challenges (Rayner and Stewart 2016). Arguably, this is due to the recent emergence of this research field (Cashman and Horne 2013) and differences in priorities from organising bodies (Stewart and Rayner 2016).

Misener et al. (2013, p. 239) defines legacy planning as ‘developing enduring, long-term positive benefits usually on a regional or national scale because the funder is typically a government agency’. Misener et al. (2013) claim that planning for legacy has, therefore, become a vital component of any proposed bid, with global governing bodies now including the notion in their contracts. Likewise, Rogerson (2016) advocates the importance of a strategic management approach to legacy planning; however, he cautions that ‘even careful planning may not be sufficient and one of the key lessons emerging from the London experience has been the limited action towards legacy in the years leading up to the event’ (Rogerson 2016, p. 4). Thus, this provides further recognition of the importance of legacy governance and management pre-event to realise and sustain ambitious legacy outcomes.

Research suggests when legacy plans are implanted into wider regeneration strategies, they seem to leave a more positive overall legacy (Smith and Fox 2007; Gratton and Preuss 2008; Davies 2012). However, this was not the case for the Montreal 1976 Olympic Games, which Darcy and Taylor (2013, p. 103) call ‘infamous’ when discussing Olympic ‘white elephants’ and large city debts due to a lack of planning. Furthermore, Sadd (2010, p. 266) presents Sydney 2000 Olympic Games as an example of a lack of legacy planning, stating, ‘as everything seemed to end on the

final day of the Paralympics Games, with no legacy planning being undertaken post-Games in the immediate period'. Scholars including Cashman and Horne (2013) and Davies (2012) agree with this statement, emphasising the issues for Sydney concerning lack of detail in any legacy planning pre and post-Games has resulted in questionable stadium management and vague generalisations. Hall and Hodges' (1996) conclusions from the Sydney Games, which highlight the focus on economic elements at the expense of social and housing impacts, support this lack of future planning in areas sustainable development evident from previous Games examples.

Rogerson (2016) states that London 2012 marked a defining point in event legacy planning and post-Games considerations. Similarly, Sadd (2010, p. 267) in her research on London 2012's regeneration ambition, explains, 'no single Games have ever planned its legacy beforehand in the manner of the London bid'. Arguably, this suggests a developed approach to legacy planning unseen in previous Games as Davies (2012) highlights apprehensions regarding potential negative regeneration legacies from underutilised Games venues in Beijing, Sydney and Athens. Sadd (2010) argues London's decision was based on avoiding the mistakes Sydney made resulting in a number of 'white elephants'. Similarly, Cashman and Horne (2013, p. 54) suggest this would not be result for London due the development of legacy considerations, stating 'there could be no more striking illustration of advance of legacy management than that contrast of legacy governance at Sydney 2000 and London 2012'. The strengths of London's legacy planning are reiterated by Davies (2012), who highlights the pre-Games planning and stakeholder involvement undertaken in London as key to legacy planning. This is reflected by the Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), who state:

Too often in the past, government have expected major events to bring automatic windfall benefits. But we know now that nothing is guaranteed without careful planning and initiative from the outset (DCMS 2008, p. 2).

Recognising the need for advanced planning demonstrates the development within major event legacy planning (Weed 2014; Leopkey and Parent 2016); however, a common issue, historically, in pre-event planning is over-emphasis of positive benefits (Gratton and Preuss 2008), much like previously examined legacy definitions (Stewart and Rayner 2016). Hence, a robust pre-event evaluation is vital for realistic legacy planning (Matheson 2010).

Weed (2014) suggests that London 2012 provided wider recognition towards to the benefits of in-depth planning and long-term legacy targets, as well as emphasising that merely hosting a major event does not inherently produce sustainably legacies (Stewart and Rayner 2016). However, as

previously reported by Misener et al. (2013) and Bloyce and Lovett (2012), Weed (2014, p. 108) draws conclusions about the London 2012 document in stating:

Plans for the legacy from the 2012 Games contained very few concrete plans at all, nor any measurable legacy targets, making it very difficult to assess legacy strategy as it was all but impossible to establish what government envisaged the outcome of a successful legacy strategy would look like.

Therefore, while London 2012 may have produced planning documents more developed than previous Games (Sadd 2010), Weed (2014, p. 117) argues that much of the claimed successes for London's legacy are a result of 'failing to provide measurable outputs and outcomes for legacy priorities'. Weed (2014) attributes this to London's use of inputs and objectives as measurements (Weed 2014, p. 117); therefore, he argues 'this is one of the features of Beyond 2012, in which the "story of the first ever Legacy Games" is presented as a retrospective with objectives and inputs presented as legacy successes already achieved.' Thus, there remain lessons to be taken from London 2012 as a legacy example such as Darcy and Taylor (2013) propose that despite advanced legacy planning, London 2012 nevertheless had major over spend (Wagg 2016). Similarly, Davies (2012) evaluated weaknesses of London's legacy plan to include a lack of longer-term legacy evaluation plans and the short-term nature of legacy organisations pose difficulties in future planning. Cashman and Horne (2013, p. 57) suggest that difficulties with legacy planning begin with two distinct issues: 'city's governance of legacy as a whole, and then the governance of particulate aspects and institutions'; therefore, there is a need for communication and collaboration.

Overall, Cashman and Horne (2013, p. 55) argue, 'legacy planning has lagged well begin Games planning'. Their argument states that while Games planning has a strict deadline to work to, the growth of legacy planning has much less emphasis and urgency placed upon it. While Frawley, Toohey and Veal (2013) suggest there is active development within Games partners being involved in event legacy planning, there is still a lack of empirical data to substantiate the ambitious legacies goals. Furthermore, Misener et al. (2013) highlight the challenges faced in turning ambitious legacy visions into actual outcomes beyond the Games period. Similarly, Ahmed (2012) presents this a complex issue for post Games delivery. Bloyce and Lovett's (2012) review of the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games suggests that legacy plans are over reliant on inspirational notions of potential legacies without providing supporting evidence of actual legacy outcomes. This is perhaps due to the lack of responsibility taken by delivery networks to achieving legacy outcomes (Misener et al. 2013). Weed (2014, p. 104) agrees that the issue of accountability was 'a key question' for London 2012, and it will be for future host cities when discussing legacy planning;

therefore, a question to be considered is ‘who would be responsible for development and delivery legacy strategies’ (Weed 2014, p. 104). London 2012 undoubtedly raised the level of legacy potential awareness within major event delivery (Rogerson 2016).

2.4.3.2 Governance

Christie and Gibb (2015) suggest growth of legacy planning research overlaps with current trends in urban governance regarding collaborative working. This emphasises the need for successful network management to promote further understanding of event regeneration and legacy planning (Leopkey and Parent 2016). Likewise, Preuss (2015, p. 661) emphasised that governments ‘must start with good city planning, to fit the event into long-term city development’. Sadd (2010, p. 266) states that to achieve a sustainable legacy, ‘all the objectives of the various stakeholders need to be addressed and holistic approach taken’. Different strategies have been named for event development, some of which are used together as a combined approach; these include growing, creating, rejuvenating and emulating events (Piccard and Robinson 2006; Palmer and Richards 2010). Clark and Kearns (2015) argue the importance of clear legacy governance frameworks and structures to aid evaluation has grown in importance and complexity aligned with the expansion of legacy initiative and ambitions. Similarly, Girginov (2011) advises that strong governance systems are required to provide direction towards the collective legacy goals of delivering any social, economic or sporting legacies for various stakeholders involved. However, the addition of newly formed governance structures can be said to add to the already complex management of Games legacy (Girginov 2011; Davies 2012; Stewart and Rayner 2016).

Thus, while legacy the advancement of legacy planning is apparent (Sadd 2010; Cashman and Horne 2013; Misener et al. 2013; Weed 2014; Christie and Gibb 2015; Leopkey and Parent 2016), some authors have begun to question the number of organisations now involved and their purpose. Muller (2016) states that mega-events, such as the Olympic Games, are partly categorised accordingly to their large amount of stakeholders involved. Difficulties in managing a group of organisations with different interests can results in implications for the host city such as lack of engagement from stakeholders (Brown et al. 2012), changes in priorities (Stewart and Rayner 2016), managing a diverse range of demands (Muller 2016). Cashman and Horne (2013, p. 57 - 58) analyse this issue as ‘somewhat bewildering alphabet soup’ and provide an example of organisations from London 2012 legacy and regeneration planning. There are 10 organisations cited, these include, but are not limited to, the Olympic Delivery Authority (ODA), The

Department of Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS)/ Government Olympic Executive (GOE) and Olympic Park Regeneration Steering Group (OPRSG) (Cashman and Horne 2013).

The wide range of stakeholders and organisation involved in the legacy planning of London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games is a main reason Cashman and Horne (2013) question the ability of a successful legacy due to the varying remits and concerns. Similarly, Rogerson (2016, p. 4) attributes the number of organisations involving in London 2012's governance as an example of 'how recent shifts towards greater and more elaborate forms of legacy planning added further complexity to legacy analyses'. These concerns are echoed by Davies (2012) and Stewart and Rayner (2016) who present potential implications due to the complexity of governance such as time pressure due to the processes involved in decision making, stakeholder agreement and communication. Brown et al. (2012) suggest a response to the number of stakeholders involved in legacy governance, is the emergence of overarching Games boards to provide a structure promoting partnership and collaboration. Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games Legacy team had a large group of partners involved in developing and delivery the Scottish Government's legacy programmes. These include:

1. Big Lottery Fund
2. Business Club Scotland
3. Clyde Gateway Regeneration
4. Commonwealth Games Scotland
5. Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA)
6. Creative Scotland
7. Education Scotland
8. Event Scotland
9. Forestry Commission
10. Glasgow 2014
11. Glasgow City Council
12. Glasgow Life
13. Highlands and Islands Enterprise
14. Jog Scotland
15. NHS Scotland

16. Paths for All
17. Ramblers
18. Scottish Community Development Centre
19. Scottish Enterprise
20. Skills Development Scotland
21. Sport Relief
22. Sport Scotland
23. Visit Scotland
24. Vocal
25. Volunteer Scotland
26. Young Scot
27. Zero Waste Scotland

(Legacy 2014 2016)

While this list of legacy delivery partners is extensive, the Scottish Government did make their partnership aims public from the planning stages five year pre-Games, stating, ‘we are developing legacy planning and delivery on five key principles of enhancing partnerships; enabling diversity; ensuring equality; encouraging community engagement; and embedding sustainability’ (Scottish Government 2009, p. 9). Rogerson (2016, p. 4) suggests that while there are differences amongst event governing bodies and the scale of different major events, ‘the broad approach has become increasingly similar with anticipated legacies being defined in the initial bid to win the right to be host city/nation, preparation for legacy being set out in the period up to the event and thereafter an expectation that some (measurable) outcomes or benefits will be delivered.’ Therefore, this highlights the advancement in legacy planning within the Commonwealth Games in similar terms to those previously discussed in Olympic terms (Hall and Hodges 1996; Sadd 2010; Cashman and Horne 2013; Frawley et al. 2013). Also, the range and number of stakeholders is aligned with Davies (2012) statement that to increase the likelihood of a positive legacy multi-level stakeholder governance is required whilst pursuing the overall legacy ambition collectively. Christie and Gibb (2015) recognise Glasgow’s involvement in the advancement of legacy planning and governance through a number of policies specific to legacy generation to encourage collaborative partnerships from the bidding stage. In terms of regeneration, Glasgow’s approach echoes a familiar horizontal partnership relationship; however, this approach for wider Games related legacies has, to date been

credited as exemplifying successful partnership working (Audit Scotland, 2012; Commonwealth Games Federation (CGF), 2012). A characteristic of its distinctiveness has been the bringing together of a range of complex partnerships into one governance structure. This also speaks to the extent to which new partnership structures have been successful or limited by the Glasgow context, historical and other place-specific factors and is arguably important to understanding the constraints facing regeneration partnerships more generally (Christie and Gibb 2015, p. 876 – 877).

Here, the research presents Glasgow as a current example providing successful insights into legacy governance. The elements discussed throughout Christie and Gibb's (2015) article, mirror considerations suggested by Cashman and Horne (2013) for host cities. These suggestions include researching legacy governance, planning legacy evaluation and including a variety of legacy themes (Cashman and Horne 2013). While Cashman and Horne (2013) discuss the preceding recommendations in an Olympic Games sized setting, Muller (2015) suggests the ethos behind these issues can be applicable to large sport event cities planning for legacy outcomes as many smaller event are expanding and portray similar traits of mega-events such as regeneration and international audience. These traits are visible within emerging research regarding Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games (McCartney et al. 2013; Christie and Gibb 2015; Rogerson 2016; Allan et al. 2016).

Despite evaluation oversights previously examined, Rogerson (2016) claims London 2012 can be seen to have made a vital development in legacy frameworks to provide structure for legacy planning. Frameworks provide a means to produce a strategically focused plan and assessment tool for legacy, which Davies (2012) claims are essential in evaluating all elements of legacy planned or unplanned, positive or negative. This development in legacy planning is said to have helped initiate new, and grow existing, partnerships across Glasgow. Moreover, aligned with the expansion of legacy planning recognition (Davies 2012; Stewart and Rayner 2016), Glasgow, importantly, also presents the first example of a Commonwealth Games Organising Committee with a responsibility to deliver legacies as part of the Glasgow Legacy Board (GLB) (Christie and Gibb 2015).

Aligned with the growing importance place on providing directional frameworks (Davies 2012; Rogerson 2016), McCartney et al. (2013, p. 28) reported pre-Games recommendations for Glasgow 2014 concerning legacy planning and provided 'critical pathways for generating a positive Games

legacy’ in order to increase pre-Games understanding and provide future solutions. The pathways are shown in Table 7 below.

Table 7 The critical pathways for generating a positive Games legacy

Key ingredients for change	Critical pathway	Direct impacts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased tourism • Increased exporting of good and services (trade) • Investment in Games-related infrastructure • The opportunity cost of investment in Games-related infrastructure 	Economic growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment • Income • Equality • Service provision
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of new sports facilities • Inspiration (festival and demonstration effects) 	Increase sports participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased physical activity and health
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Part of host city or nation 	Increased pride and sense of identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health, wellbeing and social impacts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunity of volunteering at Games 	Volunteering	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased skills • Increased future volunteering • Health, wellbeing and social impacts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New housing • Improved urban design • Regeneration • Transport improvements 	Improved environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health, wellbeing and social impacts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Various potential impacts 	Legacy programmes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Various potential impacts

McCartney et al. 2013, p. 28

McCartney et al. (2013) identified five pathways and direct impacts. These pathways are consistent with the majority of host cities impacts relating to Games hosting, namely economic, sports participation, pride and sense of identity, volunteering and environment. The last pathway is

variable from city to city: legacy programmes. The production of these pathways pre-Games further emphasises the trend in pre-Games research of potential impacts (Coaffee 2010; Byrne 2014; Gallagher 2015) and provides a further framework of how to best evaluate the likelihood of positive impacts from Games (McCartney et al. 2013).

2.5 Summary

The purpose of this chapter has been to review the current body of research about event legacy in order to begin establishing the foundations and context for this thesis. Therefore, this chapter has introduced the contested concept of legacy and the implications for events management research. First, the development of the event legacy narrative has been examined through highlighting the initial introduction of legacy considerations into Organising Committee's proposals and documenting the expansion of legacy inclusions and additions. This is followed by an investigation into how the concept of legacy is defined within event management literature and the complexities that are involved with that, such as use of language as well as positive, negative and unintentional legacies. Moreover, this chapter has examined further complexities in legacy understanding by exploring the multiple terminologies utilised in research to categorise legacy, such as structures, outcomes and consequences, as well as what part the element of time plays when aiming to define legacy from a large sporting event. It is argued that in contemporary major event management, the concept of legacy has developed to encompass a range of legacy themes to support an overarching definition. It is suggested that legacy definitions should include recognition of all potential intentional, unintentional, positive and negative elements, whilst observing the implications of timely legacy planning both pre- and post-Games.

Furthermore, the historical development of the major event legacy imperative is examined, and it is argued that the Commonwealth Games have a substantial legacy history which mirrors developments with larger event legacy advancements, e.g. Olympic Games. This provides a landscape of Commonwealth Games legacy history, demonstrating the expansion of the legacy imperative and the complex nature of legacy considerations within contemporary event management. The well-established links between events and urban regeneration are analysed, including infrastructural development and legacy governance in order to illustrate the importance of appropriate and timely legacy planning and responsible governance structures when embarking on complex legacy plans. The following chapter critically analyses the more focused concept of social legacy and its emergence with events management research.

3.0 Social Legacy

3.1 Introduction

Research on intangible, social legacies of events, although scarce, is growing in importance (Cashman 2006; Sadd 2010; Minnaert 2012; McCartney et al. 2013; Rogerson 2016). Having established the research rationale to address the issues in defining, categorising and planning major events legacies, this chapter provides a critical analysis of social impacts and the potential areas where a sustainable social legacy may be created. In order to do so, this chapter utilises Minnaert's (2012) proposed social impacts categories: impacts upon individuals, impacts upon communities and image, status and sense of place. Thus, this chapter explores the potential routes social impacts may lead to the creation of social legacies from a number of perspectives.

McCartney et al. (2013) argue that the use of major events as a platform to engender a number of social, health and wealth outcomes is increasingly employed by host cities. In recognition of this, McCartney et al. (2013) produced seven critical pathways where potential impacts may develop; their research focussed specifically on the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. For the purpose of this chapter, three pathways are of particular interest when aiming to understanding the role of major events in the creation of social legacy. These pathways highlight vital components of change necessary to enable a health, wellbeing and social impact: the feeling of being part of the host city, the opportunity to volunteer at the Games and urban regeneration such as improved transports, housing and environment (McCartney et al. 2013). Therefore, combined with the categories of social impacts suggest by Minnaert (2012), this chapter presents a literature review concerning the creation of social legacy via social impacts produced by hosting a major sporting event.

3.2 Event social legacies

A large sporting event may be short in duration, but there is potential for it to have meanings and lasting impacts for the host far beyond the event itself (Minnaert 2012; Preuss 2015). Major sport events include one-time or possibly annual sporting competitions. Crucially, these events typically differ from sport leagues in duration and profile, usually lasting a number of days, a week, a weekend or just a day. Despite the variation in focus, size and profile of a major sporting event, an increasing number now pay close attention to their potential impact upon the local community and consider their role in community development (Doherty 2009). Sadd (2010, p. 268) states, 'too

often in the past social legacy has been as afterthought in the planning and execution of previous Games’; therefore, it is recommended Games legacy is embedded into wider planning and future implementation (Sadd 2010).

The inclusion of broader event legacy typologies has gained wider recognition within the last few years (Doherty 2009; Sadd 2010; Minnaert 2012; Smith 2012). Veal et al. (2012, p. 157 - 158) discuss the development of sport event legacies, suggesting additions to Cashman’s (2003) original six typologies: economic, built infrastructure, information and education, sport, contribution to public life, politics and culture, to include wider health and sport elements. Displayed in Table 8, Veal et al. (2012, p. 158) state ten typologies of major sport event legacies.

Table 8 Typology of major sport event legacies

• Economic impact
• Built environment – non-sporting
• Public life, politics and culture
• Sport – information and education
• Sport – elite performance
• Sport – mass participation
• Sport – financial/administrative support
• Sport – physical infrastructure
• Sport – symbols, memory, history
• Health

Veal et al. (2012, p. 158)

Veal et al. (2012) propose the inclusion of health, which highlights potential sport participation impacts, along with possible air and water quality improvements. Similarities can be found here in Minnaert’s (2012) social impacts, which include, but are not limited to, personal, physical and mental health impacts. The expansion of legacy imperatives is also highlighted by Loepkey and Parent (2012) demonstrating the recent growth in the concept of legacy. Furthermore, the addition of health is aligned with McCartney et al.’s (2013) predicted direct outcomes from hosting a major event. McCartney et al. (2013) suggest legacy pathways to encourage direct impacts from hosting a major event, out of the seven pathways produced, three are concerning health, wellbeing and social impacts. Thus, emphasising the increased in socially focused of legacy typologies (see

Doherty 2009; Sadd 2010; Dickson et al. 2011; Minnaert 2012; Smith 2012; Leopkey and Parent 2012).

Recent literature on major events has added to the potential of generating positive social impacts for local communities, individuals and organisations involved in Games hosting (Misener & Mason 2006; Smith & Fox 2007; Atkinson et al. 2008; Kellett 2008). Sadd (2010) analyses Barcelona as a positive social event legacy example, suggesting that Barcelona had a longer-term vision that was successfully continued post-Games with regards to increased tourism and transport. However, while tourism saw a positive increase, Casellas et al. (2012) argues it was at the expense of a gentrification legacy. Regarding Atlanta's 1996 Olympic Games, Sadd (2010) argues there were major social implications when \$350 million of public funds, originally for social services and housing, was spent on Olympic preparations and 9,500 units of low-cost housing did not appear. Silvestre (2009) states that hosting major events enable various invasive impacts upon the locale's daily life including employment, leisure, transport, taxes, housing, human rights and democratic participation. Waitt (2003) observes that city plans should draw on primary data and ensure they are sensitive to quality of life to enable a sustainable plan and provide deeper understanding of social impacts since the majority of social impact studies have relied upon secondary data (Sadd 2010). The growing interest in social impacts of major events (see Misener & Mason 2006; Smith & Fox 2007; Atkinson et al. 2008; Kellett 2008; Jones and Yates 2015) helps to bridge this gap for future host cities.

While social impacts are often described as difficult to measure (Minnaert 2012), they are discussed as community pride, developing a sense of place and enhancing quality of life (Davies 2012; Kaplanidou 2012; McCartney et al. 2013). Kaplanidou (2012, p. 399) argues such social impacts are 'just as important to economic impacts'. However, despite the importance of social impacts, Preuss (2015) advises it does not detract from the difficulties in measuring social impacts, and therefore, social legacies. This suggests that social outcomes, such as international recognition and community pride, are ranked of equal significance to economic factors for increased quality of life within the local community. The growing importance of social impacts is evident in McCartney et al.'s (2013) critical legacy pathways, as three of the six pathways suggest direct impacts upon health, wellbeing and social outcomes. Similarly, McCartney et al. (2013) propose these impacts may be realised through increased pride and sense of identity, volunteering and improvements to the local environment. It should be noted that McCartney et al.'s (2013) pathways represent recommendations for Glasgow pre-Games in order to generate a positive legacy; therefore, the

inclusion of many social elements are perhaps due to the focus on social impacts recognised from Glasgow's bidding stage and throughout the city (Glasgow City Council 2008). Minnaert (2012) categorises soft or intangible impacts concerning host cities into impacts relating to individuals, the community and on image, status and sense of place. The main topic of Minnaert's (2012) work concerns socially excluded groups and the Olympic Games; however, the above categories also usefully provide clarity and enable a succinct discussion surrounding social impacts from a wider perspective concerning a more general audience. Furthermore, the categories provide a framework and a starting point for application and examination into potential social legacy. To utilise this framework, the following section is framed in Minnaert's (2012) subcategories. With regard to Minnaert's (2012) first category, 'impacts relating to individuals', more detail is provided by dividing this category further into sections concerning health benefits, mental health, skills and social capital. The division of the category highlights the wide-reaching opportunities hosting major events can have for a city aiming to gain a lasting social legacy.

3.2.1 Individual impacts

3.2.1.1 Health

The first subcategory of Minnaert's (2012) potential social legacies framework concerns health benefits. While this thesis is not primarily focussed on a physical health or sports participation legacy of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games, the associated benefits of sports participation from a wider social legacy perspective is argued by Minnaert (2012, p. 363) to include a 'contribution to neighbourhood renewal and communities, improved learning amongst young people, opportunities for active citizenship and development of social capital, greater pride in the community'. Weed (2012, p. 41), however, argues that 'governments, event organisers and sport professionals have long suggested that it is self-evident that sports mega-events inspire others to take part in sport'; but, there is little robust literature that supports any connection between positive health outcomes and multi sports events (Frawley and Cush 2011; Minnaert 2012; Clark and Kearns 2015). Frawley and Cush (2011) and McCartney et al. (2013) suggest it is more likely sports participation increases temporarily through increased media exposure and awareness of sporting activity. McCartney et al. (2013) argue that in Barcelona, there was a steady increase in physical activity in the ten years prior to the 1992 Olympic Games and for two years after; while in Manchester, there was an average decrease in physical activity post Commonwealth Games in

2002, and, prior to the Melbourne 2006 Commonwealth Games research found no post-Games increase in sports participation amongst adults (Frawley et al. 2013). Through promoting sports participation, and increased physical activity more generally, host cities can emphasise the benefits to the public including reducing anxiety and depression, associated mental wellbeing and general health improvements, and limiting the damage through predominantly desk-bound jobs (Clark and Kearns 2015). Weed (2014) expresses caution regarding such claims of population wide sports participation benefits, since, before the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, there was no systematic research and little evidence from previous Games to support the assumed inevitable rise in sports participation (Frawley and Cush 2011; McCartney et al. 2013).

In an earlier review, Weed et al. (2009) did find elements of the demonstration effect from major sporting events. This effect was also highlighted as a ‘key ingredient for change’ in McCartney et al. (2013, p. 28) for generating a positive Games legacy. This can be described as when ‘people are inspired by elite sport, sports people and sport events to participate themselves’ (Weed 2014, p. 42). Through harnessing the demonstration effect through targeted initiatives and strategies for sport participation, Weed (2014) suggests governments, sport professionals and event organisers may be able to engage with the public who are already interested in sport and increase participation. Similarly, Vigor et al. (2004, p. 97) state the growth in participation tends to be noticeable within groups already involved in sporting activity. The same cannot be said for the community of non-sport participants who are likely to remain unengaged, especially if cities and host rely on purely the host of such an event without auxiliary participation engagement activities, programmes and approaches (McCartney et al. 2013; Weed in Grix 2014). Non-participation in sport may not solely be due to not wanting to be active; Minnaert (2012, p. 363) provides three categories of restrictions that may affect non-participants:

The first type are structural constraints (such as poor facilities, poor transport, poor environments); the second type are mediating constraints (manager’s attitudes, labelling by society); and, the third type are personal constraints (lack of time income, skills, confidence; fear over safety).

Within areas of poverty, this is especially prevalent; it often costs money to participate in sport and the local communities do not have disposable income (Owen 2012; Paton et al. 2012). Lowering prices for sporting events and/or facilities may not solve this problem; Minnaert (2012) suggests that education level is also an important factor and perhaps it is a change in attitude that is needed to increase participation and gain the associated benefits. Rather, it can often cause further segregation between poorer and wealthy communities (Wang, Bao and Lin 2015).

Much of the evidence base (Girginov and Hills 2008; McCartney et al. 2013; Clark and Kearns 2015), in opposition to what is often cited by event organisers, suggests there is minimal effect on sports participation from simply hosting a major sporting event. Rogerson (2016, p. 10) cautions that ‘even if legacy is broadened to more general levels of physical activity and health benefits, the jury is still out on whether there is a lasting legacy’. Further, the lack of research by governments and sporting bodies perhaps demonstrates there is a lack of increased or greater physical activity impact. Weed (2014, p. 42) posits that this could partly be due to no mega event, prior to the London 2012 Olympic and Paralympic Games, ‘had pro-actively and systematically attempted to use the event to raise population levels of sport participation’. Therefore, similar to the growth in legacy overall, changes in bid and city ambitions provoke a research interest and reaction.

Overall, while Clark and Kearns’ (2015) article describes a potential positive physical activity legacy in Glasgow from hosting the Commonwealth Games, the authors conclude that for cities that have increased physical activity aims, a targeted event-led regeneration strategy would not be the first choice. Likewise, McCartney et al. (2013, p. 32) state that ‘despite the rhetoric from Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Government, there is little or no evidence to support the idea that hosting the 2014 Games will generate positive impacts for the health of socioeconomic determinants of the host population’. Therefore, if socioeconomic or health improvements are the cities overall aim, major sporting events are not without risks (McCartney et al. 2013). As previous research suggests (Girginov and Hills 2008; Clark and Kearns 2015), more systematic, empirical research is needed in this area of event legacy.

3.2.1.2 Mental health

Horne (2007) argues research highlights that, despite existing theoretical links between sport events and self-esteem, quality of life, employment and work production, this research varies vastly in rigour and quality often being carried out prior to the Games. Therefore, while the emerging dialogue on maximising the potential positive legacies has stimulated a more cohesive approach to assessing said impacts, currently there has been inadequate measurement of post-event outputs as well as inputs, particularly social or ‘softer’ impacts, which are arguably more difficult to measure (Horne 2007; Swart et al. 2011). Recently, research has begun to provide ways in which social impacts may be monitored and measured e.g. GoWell East study aimed at determining impacts of regeneration and the Commonwealth Games upon health and quality of life in the East End of Glasgow (Cleland et al. 2012).

With regard to Minnaert's (2012) suggested social legacy category of mental health, Cleland et al. (2012) and McCartney et al. (2013) state there is a strong evidence base to suggest the impacts of regeneration, transport, improved housing and urban planning on wellbeing and health are positive. Cleland et al. (2012) suggest that an increased feeling of safety is a direct indicator to positive wellbeing improvements; hence demonstrates potential to create a social legacy. However, while Beck et al. (2010) advise health and wellbeing improvements should be understood as an emerging dimension to event-led regeneration projects rather than a direct outcome. This is similar to the recommendation made by McCartney et al. (2013) who question whether major sporting events have the ability to generate the level of development within infrastructure, urban regeneration and housing to enable a positive outcome on health and social impacts. The impacts of sporting events, notably sporting successes, are also questioned by Pawlowski et al. (2014). Their results show that while sporting success does increase national pride, it does not have an impact upon subjective wellbeing; rather, it is attendance of sporting event that is positively associated with increased happiness and, therefore, subjective wellbeing. The findings in Pawlowski et al.'s (2014) study challenge presumptions of improved wellbeing for the host nation often cited within policy discourses. Kavetsos (2012) also reported that sporting success does not improve subjective wellbeing; however, Pawlowski et al. (2014, p. 130) do suggest that, since, their 'research and the literature reviewed earlier identified subjective wellbeing gains from mass sports participation', major events remain a potential way to improve the host nations subjective wellbeing, but it must be informed and clear.

Stewart (2014) suggests that host city government's interests lie beyond political kudos, and they mainly aim to use events to foster a sense of national well-being and community goodwill. Salisbury (2016) presents Cape Town's 2004 Olympic Games bid as an example of a host proposal underpinned with social growth and welfare improvements. The expansion of possible event legacies to include a health rhetoric is evident from the bid document submitted by Glasgow for the 2014 Commonwealth Games concerning investment into health services, which states, 'these in turn with contribute also to overall level of confidence, wellbeing and mental health' (Commonwealth Games Scotland 2007, p. 10). A recent study in Glasgow's East End, where the 2014 Commonwealth Games regeneration efforts were focused, has reported, 'a notable rise in perceptions of positive neighbourhood change (which is an important psychosocial indicator related to well-being' (Cleland et al. 2015, p. 39). Linked to social legacy, Kaplanidou (2012)

suggests that neighbourhood improvement and social awareness, concerning security and safety, can help in enhancing reported quality of life within the local community.

McCartney et al. (2013) propose volunteering opportunities may lead to a direct health, social and wellbeing impacts. Similarly, Minnaert (2012) suggests volunteering has been used as a tool for the reduction of social exclusion, development of urban communities and reduction in crime as well as an opportunity for the host cities of sporting events to realise potential to create long-term social legacies. Links between volunteering and well-being are evident within the literature in a number of different areas, including promoting social inclusion and well-being through arts programmes (Secker et al. 2011), formal volunteering and self-reported health and happiness (Borgonovi, 2008) and the relationship between volunteering, well-being and public policy (Binder and Freytag, 2012). The majority of this research reports increased levels of well-being in people who participate in regular volunteer activities (Binder and Freytag, 2012); hence, a person who volunteers is likely to report feeling happy and healthy (Borgonovi, 2008). Furthermore, Brown, Hoyer and Nicholson (2012) found that volunteers reported significantly higher well-being, general self-efficacy, social connectedness, and self-esteem than non-volunteers. Their findings displayed no significant difference in reported levels of well-being concerning the length of time spent volunteering or with the sector of voluntary work. Nichols and Ralston (2012), in their review of volunteer legacies, highlight that only Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games had a positive influence on volunteering in sport, which could be attributed to the creation of the Manchester Event Volunteers (MEV) directly after the event that enabled the pool of volunteers to be accessed for future volunteering opportunities. The increased interest in providing a lasting legacy has led Games hosts, public policy makers and academics to embrace the growth in research concerning legacy and social legacies; however, the potential has yet to be researched fully with regard to the large number of volunteers and possible legacy of such programmes (Downward and Ralston 2006; Nichols and Ralston 2012). The growth in research concerning voluntary work and well-being continues to develop. This is much like the growth in the emerging body of literature on legacy potential of major sporting events. The over-lap within these academic fields with regard to large numbers of volunteers and potential legacy of such programmes, provides a research opportunity yet to be fully studied (Downward and Ralston, 2006; Nichols and Ralston, 2012).

Recent studies have highlighted the potential volunteering holds to support a more multi-dimensional and interrelated legacy from major events, suggesting improvements in volunteer activity numbers, social inclusion in volunteers, contribution to the economy and development of

skilled volunteer workforce (Nichols and Ralston 2012). With regard to research surrounding this topic, typical major event volunteer research findings are concerned with the experience, likelihood to re-volunteer in the future (Jones and Yates 2015) and motivations and satisfaction (McGillivray et al. 2013; Kristiansen 2015); however, Dickson et al. (2015, p. 230) states, there is a need for more research on volunteer legacies. The following section explores major event volunteering further through skill and social development for individuals.

3.2.1.3 Skills

A further subcategory provided by Minnaert (2012) highlights the potential social legacy through skills enhancement including employment and volunteering opportunities. McCartney et al. (2013, p. 25) also acknowledges this subcategory as a critical pathway for generating a positive health, wellbeing and social impact in Glasgow from hosting the Commonwealth Games, ‘where members of the community would gain new skills and confidence by being valued for the voluntary input during the event’. Volunteer programmes are commonly employed to encourage economic and social regeneration for local communities (Smith and Fox 2007). They offer training and employment experience, which aims to provide volunteers with the environment to nurture new skills (Smith and Fox 2007; McCartney et al. 2013), in turn offering an occasion for individual and community development (Doherty 2009).

Without the effort of these volunteers, these major events would not be possible (Doherty 2009). A substantial volunteer workforce is vital of major sporting events such as the Olympic or Commonwealth Games (Nichols and Ralston 2012). The significance of sport event volunteers can be traced to the 1980s when 6703 volunteers were involved in the 1980 Lake Placid Winter Olympic Games (McGillivray et al. 2013). In 2000, the Sydney Olympic Games, learning from Atlanta, recruited 62,000 volunteers for its extensive volunteer programme (Smith and Fox 2007); the Beijing Olympics in 2008 had 100,000, and London 2012 required a 70,000 volunteer force. For the 2002 Commonwealth Games, Manchester recruited 10,500 volunteers (Nichols and Ralston 2012), and, most recently, Glasgow recruited almost 15,000 volunteers for the 2014 Commonwealth Games, making it the largest number of volunteers recruited in Scotland during peacetime (Downward and Ralston 2006).

There are a number of ways in which volunteering can be categorised: informal or formal, episodic or discrete, continuous or successive, collective or unconditional (Volunteer Glasgow 2009;

McGillivray et al. 2013). Each of the volunteer categories provides routes for participants' contributions to society in a satisfying and important way. These routes include using existing skills, developing new skills, positively contributing to the lives of others and developing community engagement (Jones and Yates 2015; Kristiansen et al. 2015). Sadd (2010, p. 269) proposes that sport and social regeneration 'is more about participation and especially the role the voluntary sector can play in that'. As well as being used by policy makers to enhance social inclusion and cohesion (Kristiansen et al. 2015), volunteering also had been found to have a positive impact on personal health, with research suggesting encouraging results in wellbeing, life satisfaction, mortality and depression (Jones and Yates 2015). Furthermore, Lee et al. (2014) suggests participating in volunteer activity increases community and individual well-being in addition to generating feeling of self-satisfaction, accomplishment and enhance self-confidence (Morrow-Howell et al. 2003; Brown et al. 2012; McCartney et al. 2013). In response to this, Borgonovi (2008) warns that while higher levels of wellbeing are said to be linked to the volunteering, the opposite must also be recognised, and people with already higher levels of wellbeing are more likely to give up their time to volunteer. With regard to major event volunteering, Baum and Lockstone (2007) suggest that categories of collective and unconditional help provide distinction between people who frequently and loyally volunteer their time unconditionally to their chosen organisation and have strong ties, in comparison to volunteers who collectively volunteer irregularly for various causes and, although for a short period of time, are dedicated and committed to the event (McGillivray, McPherson and MaKay 2013). Both may be true for event volunteers, and research suggests that major event volunteer are comparable to general volunteers or sport volunteer who are likely to well-educated and professionals (Treuren and Monga 2002), reflecting a relatively homogeneous group of people who tend to replicate the gender and age profile of the participant and spectator majority (McGillivray et al. 2013).

Research regarding volunteer legacy acknowledges that legacies include the continuation and advance of volunteering activity; however, Nichols and Ralston (2012, p.170) suggest that literature to date fails to recognise the 'contribution that activity make to the social inclusion of volunteers', as well as the economic impact on the development of the events in that region, the growth of a skilled volunteer body and improving the standard of event volunteer management for the destination (Nichols and Ralston 2012). In the last decade, volunteering has become increasingly prevalent in public policy dialogues globally (McGillivray et al. 2013). Despite the growth in recognition of intangible benefits, Nichols and Ralston (2012) suggest that through

reviews of Olympic Games legacies from 1988 to London 2012, there is minimal reference of the intangible legacy of a volunteer programme, highlighting only that Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games had a positive influence on volunteering in sport (Nichols and Ralston 2012; McCartney et al. 2013). However, the absence of clear objectives and sustained post Games organisation for a volunteer legacy from Organising Committees can perhaps explain the negligible attention paid to the evolving volunteer legacy of major sporting events (Nichols and Ralston 2012). While research suggests potential positive impacts from being involved in Games volunteering such as developing a sense of place and community pride, improving quality of life, enhancing of social capital (Sadd 2010), building networks (Misener and Mason 2006), developing civic and national pride (Baum and Lockstone 2007), advancing social inclusion, creating a sense of citizenship and increased equality (Rochester 2006). McCartney et al. (2013) caution that there is limited evidence from previous events that volunteer programmes can create a long-term positive impact, stating that while impacts are discussed within literature, long-term research is needed to fully evidence any widespread or large legacy.

While employment opportunities are often included in economic legacy ambitions (Kaplanidou 2012; Tsaur et al. 2015), the social element of enhanced skills, opportunities and experience is worth noting (Minnaert 2012; McCartney et al. 2013). Furthermore, Tsaur et al. (2015) include additional employment and increased local business opportunities as intangible legacies for mega-events. Claims of the potential legacy generating through hosting major sporting events have become an important part of bidding process (Gold and Gold 2007; Nichols and Ralston 2012). Frawley and Adair (2013, p. 9) state important benefits sought by host cities from this early stage are 'economic development approach, emphasising employment creation and the exporting of goods and services, such as international tourism'. Baum and Lockstone (2007) state that creating employment opportunities are a significant motivating factor for host cities. Hall (2006, p. 66) states the renewal and building of new facilities unquestionably creates employment opportunities, the majority of which come from the construction stage; however, while some longer-term jobs might continue, 'in the case of event employment much of it will be part-time or casual and low-skilled'. Likewise, Baum and Lockstone (2007) report that while employment impacts from hosting sporting events are rarely examined, much of the limited research heralds the lack of permanent, full-time job opportunities.

Minnaert (2012) discusses that research suggests the development of new housing and sport facilities does not have a significant impact upon host community economic activity or

employment. However, Baum and Lockstone (2007, p. 30) propose that ‘there is evidence of new economic activity at a micro, entrepreneurial level within destinations hosting mega sporting events, creating self-employment (and potentially more) in a manner that is imperceptible to standard economic employment indicators’. Glasgow, as a host city, is regarded by Baum and Lockstone (2007) as a new employment creation activity, this is mirrored in the Glasgow bid document which emphasises ‘imaginative employment’ opportunities. The post-Games report for Glasgow highlights areas of improvements such as an ‘outplacement programme was also put in place to assist staff in finding their next employment opportunity when their fixed term contracts came to an end’ (Glasgow 2014 2015, p. 19), and supporting two programme targeted at young people: ‘the Employer Recruitment Incentive awarded £1,500 payments to help employers with fewer than 150 employees to support a 16–19 year old in a Modern Apprenticeship in specific sectors, while Legacy 2014 Scotland’s Best improved employability by combining volunteering and training opportunities for up to 1,000 young people aged 16–24 across Scotland’ (Glasgow 2014 2014, p. 69). While the employment opportunities provided from major event is not a specific focus of this thesis, recognising the wider social implications and potential avenues of social legacy creation is notable important. As suggested by McCartney et al. (2013) who advise that job creation is part of an overarching health and social legacy that bring together employment levels, economic benefits and social benefits of employment.

3.2.1.4 Social capital

The final subcategory from Minnaert (2012) concerning intangible impacts for individual from major events is social capital. The concept of social capital has been gaining increasing attention by scholars since 2000 (Skinner et al. 2008; Kitchin and Howe 2013). Notable authors, namely Pierre Bourdieu (1986), James Coleman (1988) and Robert Putnam (2001), offer definitions for the concept. Bourdieu (1986) acknowledged three main forms of capital. First, economic capital, which is closely connected with and convertible into money and established into forms of property rights. Second, cultural capital was theorised as a form of capital commonly linked with education and schools, often convertible into economic capital. Third, and fundamental in the context of this research, is social capital (Skinner et al. 2008). Often discussed in terms of community, this section examines social capital from the perspective of community development as a vital factor of individual development and social change.

Social capital is potentially used as a way of increasing empowerment, community development and well-being, and therefore builds towards a renewed sense of community (Skinner et al. 2008) and increases the possibility of positive impacts within arts and culture, creativity, and quality of life of the residents (Pickernell et al. 2007). In order to achieve these outcomes, research suggests that governments, policy makers and organisers must take an approach focused in a democratic direction to encourage community involvement and support to enable the possibility of the event becoming a significant urban experience for the local residents (Gursoy and Kendall 2006). This draws upon Coleman's (1990) theory of social capital, which places significant importance on the need for healthy, stable community networks to enable community progression and success within all communities (Misener and Mason 2006).

Bourdieu (1986, p.251) conceptualises social capital as:

The sum of the resources, actual or virtual, that accrue to an individual or a group by virtue of possessing a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.

Bourdieu (1986) considered social capital as a limited resource, where if an individual was lacking in cultural or economic capital, they would not be able to increase their social capital (Kitchin and Howe 2013). He believed that social capital was a resource that can be gathered by increasing a person's networks. This notion of gathering and investing into an individual's social capital also underpins Coleman's (1988) belief that social capital is formed through developing trust and building strong relationships (Kitchin and Howe 2013). Unlike Bourdieu (1986), who suggested that only elite individuals with access to economic and cultural resources could possess social capital, Coleman's (1990) conceptualisation of social capital encompasses collectivity and the interpersonal connections among all members. Misener (2013) argues that social capital is not limited to a dominant class, but rather has the potential to produce meaningful benefits to underprivileged and marginalised communities. Putnam (2002 p.8) describe social capital as 'social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity', explaining further that 'like physical and human capital (tools and training), social networks create value, both individual and collective'. Similarly, Hendriks and Toepoel (2013 p. 112) supplement this by defining social capital as the group norms and social networks 'which enable people to trust and cooperate with each other and via individual or group can obtain certain advantages'. Central to this analysis of social capital is reciprocity, networks and trust, highlighting that once trust is built, social networks can be created and these networks have social value (Shipway in Shipway and Fyall 2013). Furthermore, similar

to Coleman's (1988) more community focussed idea of social capital, Putnam (2000) suggests that the more horizontal networks between civic groups, the more prosperous the community.

Trust and cooperation, in terms of event regeneration, is paramount between event planners and local business and host communities (Lassila et al. 2013). Social renewal fostered through leveraging civic activities to bring people together in shared celebration and experience is said to facilitate social capital as individuals are empowered to feel part of the transformation and fresh start of their community (Misener 2013). Hence, the development of the use of social capital within urban planning literature (Putman and Goss 2002) has potential to aid event managers in creating successful events through increased awareness of community resources, stronger interactions between organisations and the promotion of social cohesiveness (Lassila et al. 2013). More specifically, situating social activities around positive events, such as a major sporting event, is said to have greater influence on the development of social capital (Misener 2013). However, Coalter (2007) suggests that although the concept itself is not new (Skinner et al. 2008), the use of social capital in sport and culture is imprecise, with no logical attempt to clearly define its role within social inclusion or regeneration through sport events (Coalter 2007). Similarly, Attanasi et al. (2013) agree that although a popular research area, social capital is a somewhat vague concept, lacking a distinct definition (Attanasi et al. 2013). An expanding resource of research within sport has recognised how social capital develops in the networks of volunteers and stakeholders connected (Darcy et al. 2014); however, within the context of sporting events, the development of social capital is yet to be fully investigated (Coalter 2007; Darcy et al. 2014).

Further to defining the concept, social capital has also been categorised. Putnam (2000) describes the categories of bridging (or inclusive) and bonding (or exclusive) social capital. Bridging social capital concerns people who are not alike in a socio-demographic respect (Schulenkorf et al. 2011), referring to the wider overlapping networks that generate broader mutuality crucial for building linkages across differentials (Tonts 2005; Misener 2013). Also, bonding social capital, more stable than bridging, concerns reciprocity and trust within closed networks of people who consider themselves similar (Schulenkorf et al. 2011). This form of social capital tends to reinforce exclusive identities and can be inward looking (Tonts 2005; Misener 2013). Schulenkorf et al. (2011) suggests that once trust is built, networks can grow and generate social capital for the individuals involved. Literature cautions that the inward nature of this form of social capital has the ability to strengthen narrow ideals of segregation and exclusivity (Seippel 2008; Misener 2013). Misener and Mason (2006) explain a third category, arguably the most fitting for discussing events,

as linking social capital (Misener and Mason 2006; Misener 2013). This category concerns seeking opportunities to create vertical linkages among powerful organisations or individuals with those with less affluence. This is argued to be vital to deconstructing the power relations and enabling a bottom-up development strategy for positive community impact and enhancement (Misener 2013; Brown et al. 2015).

Furthermore, despite the rise in attention paid to social capital in policy making and community development discourses (Schenlenkorf et al. 2011), Misener (2013) argues it is only recently that social capital has gained academic momentum associated with sport events, major events (Mair and Whitford 2013) and the large numbers of people they involve (Brown et al. 2015). Specifically, Schlenkorf et al. (2011) suggest that for individuals, volunteering presents a way in which to build social relationships and friendships; therefore, is consistent with enhanced social capital. In addition to governmental promotion of volunteering for societal benefits, McGillivray et al. (2013) suggest the relationship between volunteering and social capital has gained academic interest. In terms of event volunteering, there is substantial understanding of human capital regarding volunteer recruitment, including skills and training; however, much less is understood concerning how to achieve social capital as an outcome of investment in terms of sustainable connections and extended networks (Schlenkorf et al. 2011; McGillivray et al. 2013). Beyond Nichols and Ralston's (2012) study of volunteers, which demonstrates the multidimensional legacy potential of event volunteers to increase individuals' sense of community and well-being, there has been little exploration of the relationship between the development of social capital around events despite links with community engagement strategies (Misener 2013).

Fundamental to the use of events for social development is the disputed concept of social capital (Coalter 2007; Darcy 2014). Schlenkorf et al. (2011) suggest that the notion of creating social change and building social capital by encouraging social development through sport events is largely based on ongoing evaluations of sport event initiatives in the developing world. Misener (2013) highlights that while sport events are not essentially unique in building and facilitating social capital, sport is a fundamental socio-cultural phenomenon and a vital form of associational life; therefore, it is identified further by Putnam (2001) as being an important for social capital development (Misener 2013). Furthermore, Sherry, Karg and O'May (2011) state that sport has the multidimensional reach to engage a varied audience, promote social inclusion and contribute to health. Detailing that, research suggests, sport can become an applicable intermediary in the building of social capital. Coalter (2007) argues the lack of theoretically informed research perhaps

explains why the concept is rarely explored at length within sport policy, which highlights the need for closer collaboration between academics and policy makers to ensure future evidence-based policy-making (Coalter 2007, Schlenker et al. 2011; Brown et al. 2015).

Schlenker et al. (2011) propose that increased social capital is a result of enhanced social inclusion in a withdrawn community. Furthermore, Brown et al. (2015) argue that an increased sense of connectedness in a divided community can encourage the development of social capital and promote other positive benefits, such as improved networks and local ownership. Creating a collective sense of responsibility between engaged community members for beneficial problem solving is of importance to this theory of eventful cities and their local community. This highlights that events can contribute to the development of social capital through generating a collective effort of community members willingly engaging in meaningful regeneration or development initiatives within their community, not only elite decision making where social capital is already highly developed (Misener 2013). Not without challenges, there is a 'darker side' of social capital. While created networks of trust and reciprocity are beneficial for those within them, the external effects can be negative, and these norms can lead to the forming of hostility towards people not within the networks or 'outsiders', in some cases being connected with racism, sectarianism, social exclusion and corruption (Tonts 2005).

The tendency to focus on economic and infrastructural impacts within event literature and neglect the social element (Bob and Swart 2010; Sherry, Karg and O'May 2011) is also evident in terms of literature focusing on physical, human and financial capital, with much less focus on the potential for the development of social capital. Given the level of investment in sport and general infrastructure development, this is not necessarily surprising (Misener 2013) and can be particularly evident in the case of bigger sporting events (Bob and Swart 2010). Embedded within the culture and behaviour of social groups, Tonts (2005) suggests this brings issues of measurement due to the complex, multidimensional and subject nature of social capital. Brown et al. (2015) draws similarities with the difficulties of measuring intangible impacts and legacies, arguing that, while not always visible, potential event legacies such as social capital continue to grow in importance. Moreover, Sherry, Karg and O'May (2011, p. 113) propose that 'authors have noted that a sense of community pride and wellbeing are indicators of social capital, and therefore the concept of social capital has relevance in the investigation of the social impacts of events'. Furthermore, despite the rise in attention paid to social capital in policy making and community

development discourses, only recently has the concept of this capital gained scholarly interest in term of sport events (Misener 2013) and major events (Mair and Whitford 2013).

3.2.2 Community impact

Based on Minnaert's (2012) work, the following section of this chapter concentrates on potential impacts upon the community, which Minnaert (p. 362) outlines as 'community cohesion (an outcome of social capital), community buy-in, cooperative entrepreneurship, social inclusion, social integration, collective identities, uniting people'. Sadd (2010) states that to enable a discussion around the potential legacy outcomes for the community, it is essential to assess what and who is the community. This is similar to Minnaert's (2012) category of impacts relating to the community, where she assesses that impacts relating the community are inclined to refer to better links and cooperation. Therefore, this is in agreement with Sadd (2010, p. 268), who argues, 'community does not always have to be just residents as communities of place arise through linkages and commonalities of place as well as communities of associations, interest, and attachment'. Minnaert (2012) expands her category by stating possible impacts such as community cohesion, strengthening collective identity, social integration, increased social and cultural understanding, community buy-in and co-operative entrepreneurship. Gursoy and Kendall (2006) add to this discussion suggesting that, ideally, cities should aim for a more democratic planning process with local support and involvement in order to realise these community benefits. The authors suggest that community involvement in the planning process can transform the overall experience for visitors and locals; however, this approach has a history of not being embraced or only adopted in name by cities due to its implementation difficulties (Gursoy and Kendall 2006). Rogerson (2016) proposes that it is the expansion of the legacy timeframe to include a larger pre- and post-Games period that has allowed greater involvement of the local community in event and legacy planning. This is especially relevant in terms of enhanced health benefits and/or community regeneration approaches, where the stretched timeframe of beyond the event delivery is suggested to have helped leverage funding to health outcomes and/or the community as part of aspirational cultural and sporting ambitions (Rogerson 2016).

Paton et al. (2012) suggest that in order to uncover the routes to engagement, thought must first be given to the way in which communities are anticipated to engage with major events, specifically in areas of event regeneration. Smith (2012, p. 1470) proposes that by Games organising bodies interacting and forming a working relationship with already established groups wishing to enhance

their community, there is the potential to bring two main benefits: ‘1) provide a level of assurance that a minimum of one community-based regeneration project will happen in conjunction with the events, which helps to move away from the typical top-down approach associated with major events and their local community; and, 2) inspire communities to take ownership of their ventures’. Paton et al. (2012) argue that mega events, such as the Olympics and Commonwealth Games, are an increasingly utilised outlet of urban regeneration for host cities within areas of poverty and deprivation. A possible reason for this is provided by Smith (2012), who suggests that this builds community capacity and boosts the likelihood of future community-led regeneration projects. Paton et al. (2012) suggest that by understanding mega sporting event regeneration in this context, a setting for the movement away from attributing blame to structural issues, such as deindustrialisation, towards individualisation can begin (Paton et al. 2012). Such statements emphasise the neoliberal ideals of no longer being identified as welfare state (Skinner et al. 2008), where citizens are expected to be resourceful for their own life and not rely on the local or national government to plan or solve all problems in society (Paton et al. 2012). This is not an innovative concept; rather, it has roots in theory of community development where ‘participation, empowerment and ownership are seen as necessary conditions for change’ (Dinham 2005, p.302). Thus, communities in deprived areas are encouraged to participate in their community for the benefit of targeting local needs and the hope of developing and sustaining multiple partners, which can support and sustain new relationships (Skinner et al. 2008).

Glasgow provides a current example of encouraging citizenship through their ‘Active Citizenship Programme’. Established by Glasgow City Council, this city-wide programme was developed to:

See resident’s complete online modules, participate in workshops and access learning materials related to the 2014 Commonwealth Games and other major events in the city. The programme aims to support engagement with the Games, whilst enhancing civic pride and encouraging citizens to be good hosts (Glasgow City Council 2014 p. 63).

Rogerson (2016, p. 10) suggests Glasgow’s approach to promoting the active legacy themes are a mechanism aimed to ‘re-define the reliance on post-event enthusiasm and “demonstration effects” (Weed et al. 2009) to generate increased participation’. McCartney et al. (2013) argue that the Games effect can be used to a host cities advantage to encourage community involvement post-Games, such as use of new facilities, increased sport participation, community engagement and volunteering.

In this case, events are seen as catalysts for change. This approach has the potential to negate highly charged political and social situations which many host cities have found themselves in due to a lack of planning, coordination and cohesion within the host community (Gursoy and Kendall 2006). Literature recommends that this coordinated approach should start at the bidding process (Gursoy and Kendall 2006; Minnaert 2012) in order to placate the public debate and promote local involvement from the offset. Matheson (2010, p. 20) suggests 'community engagement throughout the legacy planning and development process can ensure that strategic policy partnerships and initiatives may be shaped by community needs and aspirations'. This level of engagement requires abandoning traditional approaches to a certain extent; however, this is said to lead to wider community discussion over perceived positives and how to reduce the potential negative consequences (Gursoy and Kendall 2006).

Many major event cities' organising bodies anticipate that the aforementioned feel-good boost or physic income will translate into sustainable community cohesion and networks, or what is commonly referred to as social capital (Agha, Fairley and Gibson 2012; Brown et al. 2015). However, for this to be attainable within an event regeneration strategy, public participation in the planning process is essential (Balsas 2004; Misener and Mason 2006; Matheson 2010; Paton et al. 2012). Despite the importance of community involvement, critics suggest that in many cases events have not carried out genuine community consultation regarding urban regeneration strategies, a process that is referred to as 'manufactured consent' (Cashman 2003 p. 6; Misener and Mason 2006; Minnaert 2012). An issue where consent is said to be manufactured to suit the governing body's agenda without providing the community with all the necessary information (Silvestre 2009). Engaging with community values through the overall event hosting process provides an opportunity for the organising body to respect to the local communities input (Misener and Mason 2006). While quick planning decisions may be necessary, lack of due public involvement and participation can weaken the predicted event regeneration outcomes and undermine civic agendas (Balsas 2004). Thus, this highlights an ultimate aim for sustainable social outcomes in order to develop a sense of ownership within the locale (Smith 2012) and further enhances the vital opportunity that host cities hold to engage with their community.

A further community impact implied by Minnaert (2012) is cooperative entrepreneurship. Silvestre (2009, p. 4) states, 'urban entrepreneurs often promote hallmark sports and cultural events as a tool for the renewal of cities'. Culture, tourism, sports-led and entertainment strategies are often employed to revive and redesign urban areas (Silvestre 2009). Thus, partnerships between

governments and the private sector are built to encourage local growth and economic development. Hall (2006, p. 63) discusses the links between entrepreneurship and hosting events, stating:

Imaging a city through the organisation of spectacular urban space by, for example, hosting a mega-event, is therefore a mechanism for attracting mobile capital and people (of the right sort) in a period of intense inter-urban competition and urban entrepreneurship in which neoliberalism has become one of the major framework by which experience of urban development is understood.

Reference to neoliberalism frequently occurs in relation to hosting major events in post-industrial cities (Paton et al. 2012; Smith 2012). Hall (2006) argues events are commonly used to promote economic and social restructuring in neoliberal agendas. Furthermore, Paton et al. (2012) propose that post-industrial neoliberalism, understood in contemporary event hosting situations, aims to inspire and motivate traditionally working class communities. Parallels can be drawn here with the shift in encouraging host community involvement in regeneration processes; however, by encouraging engagement of host communities from deprived regions, and therefore consumer-citizenship, Paton et al. (2012) state that, ironically, in order to participate citizens must be able to afford to, and, often, the locale cannot (Owen 2012). Hall (2006) emphasises that neoliberalism within an events discourse is dominant and frequently results in the insistent pursuit of urban redevelopment. The implications of which, ultimately result in displacement and gentrification of the local community (Gray and Porter 2015) and the loss of local/national identity (Silk 2014), in order to stratify economic and social restructuring (Hall 2006). Paton et al.'s (2012) research conclusions for the East End of Glasgow do recognise the shift in local and national government regeneration strategies to include a social element.

Furthermore, McCartney et al. (2013, 32) highlight that 'little or no regeneration planned as part of the 2014 Games was not already planned before Glasgow won right to play host'; therefore, while research into this area consistently raises the question of who in a host city benefits most (Hiller 2006; Paton et al. 2012), Glasgow's Games targeted regeneration was embedded into wider urban renewal strategies. This is said to help avoid consequences of which result in opposition for major event hosting and further questioning into whether a cities resources could be better distributed amongst regions and communities in need and most disadvantaged as opposed to supporting economic focused avenues (Hiller 2006). Further issues surrounding gentrification is examine in the next section of this chapter.

Overall, the idea of a self-sustaining urban community is one where residents are a vital player in its design, planning and operation (Smith 2009). Furthermore, Skinner et al.'s (2008, p. 271)

findings reflect that a ‘one-size fits all’ approach is not appropriate to meet all host community needs. They suggest that, in current society, flexibility and choice are essential in delivering social outcomes and opportunities, which are suited to the participants to ensure sustainability and longer term capability. Thus, if a city aims to leverage a major event to enhance the city in a more permanent way, then it is important to discover what changes the host communities support (Hiller 2006; Taks, Chalip and Green 2015). This is a relatively recent development in major event hosting and their associated initiatives (Gursoy and Kendall 2006) and, therefore, requires further investigation from current major event practice and strategy.

3.2.3 Image, status and sense of place

A large sporting event may be short in duration, but there is potential for it to have meaning and lasting impact far beyond the event itself for the host (Minnaert 2012). By analysing the creation of social legacies, the wide ranging intangible legacies, such as increased reputation, chances for city marketing, renewed community spirit and urban revival (Gratton and Preuss 2008; Kaplanidou and Karadakis 2010) are vital to the understanding the community social impacts and, ultimately, social legacy. Minnaert (2012) identified her final social legacy category as image, status and sense of place, including further effects such as civic pride, buzz and reputation. Similarly, McCartney et al. (2013) propose that an increased sense of identity and pride may results in health, wellbeing and social impacts. Therefore, the final section of this chapter analyses the social impacts presented by Minnaert (2012), such as reputation, civic pride and sense of identity, to explore the potential to create a social legacy aligned with McCartney et al.’s (2013) proposed health, wellbeing and social impacts from sense of identity and pride within a host city.

Schausteck de Almeida et al. (2013) argue major sporting events can work as a platform for countries to promote their desired message and images globally. Similarly, Preuss (2015) states that a growing body of research is recognising legacies of city or nation image improvements. The interest and participation in events in recent years can be seen to be utilised as a tool for host cities in creating improvement in arts, culture, urban regeneration, education and tourism (Garcia 2005; Smith and Fox 2007; Davies 2012; Smith 2012). Waitt (2003, p. 194) suggests, ‘at the turn of the century, cities as sites of tourism spectacle have given hallmark events a new economic role and heightened significance’. Hence, Mair and Whitford (2013) argue that the growing acknowledgement of the events industry and events around the globe is due to the evidence

building of major event's ability to host an event while not only increase visitor numbers, but also ensure economic and social-well-being impact.

A large amount of research concerning city image is in relation to tourism (Garcia 2005; Smith and Fox 2007; Gratton and Preuss 2008; Muller 2015). However, there are a number of scholars beginning to examine the intangible image improvement benefits felt by the local community (Hautbois et al. 2012; Minnaert 2012; Li 2013; Clark and Kearns 2015; Preuss 2015; Misener et al. 2015; Kenyon et al. 2016). Events can promote intangible benefits such as enhanced pride for the local community and elevation of the city image globally (Smith and Fox 2007; Li 2013; McCartney et al. 2013). Clark and Kearns (2015) argue that often considered alongside image benefits is the potential for the host city to create a positive reputation based on its key qualities. Importantly, by focussing on a city's specific qualities further recognition is demonstrated that event-led regeneration initiatives must be city specific (Sadd 2010), and event-led urban regeneration plans are not a one size fits all model (Smith 2012). Furthermore, Wang et al. (2015) argue that hosting large events can aid cities wishing to launch a new image, increase media attention and heighten civic pride. Smith and Fox (2007) state the Barcelona Olympic Games 1992 are often cited as enabling city image transformation; however, they propose the Games were part of a much larger overarching structure responsible from image alterations and an image increase should be considered within the broader city rebranding strategy. Similarly, Clark and Kearns (2015) present Glasgow as a further example of using a major event in conjunction with a citywide rebranding strategy. They propose Glasgow as an example of image rebranding to focus on the important city qualities, namely people and friendliness (Paton et al. 2016), rather than style, from the 'People Make Glasgow' city image (Clark and Kearns 2015). Paton et al. (2016) argue this new image promotes a message focussed on encouraging civic pride, positivity and resident responsibility.

Kristiansen et al. (2015) state local pride from hosting an event remains under researched. Cleland et al.'s (2015) research concerning Glasgow did find a slight improvement in civic pride regarding participants' local area post-Games in addition to neighbourhood quality and attractiveness. Movements towards addressing the gap in research concerning local pride and hosting major events (Kristiansen et al. 2015) is evident in recent bid documents from the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games, which state:

For the local community, increased pride in their city, renewed confidence, a chance to show their world-famous hospitality, an ability to be part of the major initiative and a

demonstration of what can be achieved in terms of new, more environmentally sustainable ways of living will all be vital (Commonwealth Games Scotland 2007, p. 11).

Hence, pre-Games ambitions for a lasting social legacy are aligned with Kaplanidou's (2012, p. 399) research, which explores feeling of connectedness on a global stage; this suggests that for the local community, welcoming visitors to their cities 'can further enhance their sense of community and pride'. Therefore, it can be suggested the friendly and local promotional message from 'People Make Glasgow' fosters a sense of local pride (Paton et al. 2016), and the potential to create lasting social impacts within the locale from feeling part of the host city (McCartney et al. 2013).

Moreover, it can be argued that the positive image, city rebranding and wish to increase pride has been a common feature in Glasgow's city strategy from many years in an attempt to move away from a disheartened post-industrial city (Garcia 2004; Lui 2014; Eizenberg and Cohen 2015). Aligned with this aim, Kenyon et al. (2016) present notable pre-to-post- Games improvements to the city image domestically in Glasgow regarding the 2014 Commonwealth Games impact. Hence, the improved image from a residents perspective suggests momentum to create social impacts at a community level such as social capital, civic pride, community cohesion and sense of identity (Hautbois et al. 2012; Minnaert 2012; Li 2013; Clark and Kearns 2015; Preuss 2015; Misener et al. 2015). Furthermore, the importance of increased pride and creating a sense of identity is emphasised by McCartney et al. (2013) through their critical pathway emphasising the importance of feeling part of a host city to generate a positive health, wellbeing and social Games legacy.

Hede (2007) identifies a number of socially orientated benefits that have been associated with events such as improved quality of life, pride in host destination and fostering social cohesion. An increased importance is suggested by Sadd (2010) to have developed to include such impacts as community pride and sense of place within the last decade. Legacy themes proposed by Leopkey and Parent (2012, p. 932) include, 'personal and community wide feelings of national pride, enthusiasm and emotions' as a psychological legacy theme. Likewise, Gratton and Preuss (2008, p. 1928) discuss events at an emotional level suggesting that 'the pride of hosting such an event creates local identification, vision and motivation'. Bringing together each of these legacy identifications, McCartney et al.'s (2013) legacy pathway proposed for Glasgow of increased identity and pride highlights a route for cities to recognise and realise health, wellbeing and social impacts specific to the host city. Relevant when examining event-led regeneration, Garcia (2004, p. 104) states, 'major events are seen as a particularly effective catalyst for city regeneration processes because they able to merge tourism strategies with urban planning and boost the

confidence and pride of the local community'. This concept is noticeably employed within event-led regeneration projects in cities such as Glasgow (Garcia 2004; Lui 2014) and Manchester (Chalkley and Essex 1998; Gratton and Preuss 2008; Lui 2014); since, as Avraham (2004, p. 476) states 'residents of unfavourably perceived cities often suffer from lack of pride in their city and from a low self-image'. Specifically, Avraham (2004) uses Glasgow as an example of a suffering post-industrial city with ambitions to change its image. To do so, Glasgow used cultural and tourist attractions (Avraham 2004; Garcia 2007) and its 1990 European City of Culture platform produce an international model for successful regeneration in transforming a 'depressed post-industrial city in the late 1960s to the attractive cultural and service-orientated city that is it today' (Garcia 2007; p. 106).

National pride has been considered within research along with a small number of studies positing that hosting an event may result in a higher level of subjective well-being (Kristiansen et al. 2015). Pawlowski et al. (2014) and Kavetsos (2012) state that the notion of increased national pride is influenced by sporting success; however, this success does not influence subjective wellbeing. Pawlowski et al. (2014) state, regarding international sporting success, pride has possible links with nationalism and national identity. Furthermore, they argue that attending the event, rather than the perceived successes, is perhaps more important when aspiring for national improvements in subjective wellbeing (Pawlowski et al. 2014). Hallman et al. (2012) also suggest that elite sporting success has the potential to stimulate national pride and build national identity. McCartney et al. (2013) suggest a potential pathway to achieve feelings of pride and sense identity – and overall positive social legacy – is to ensure residents are involved and feeling part of the host city.

It is argued that with the growing body of literature on social legacies, social responsibility should be added given more recognition (see Hiller 2000; Lenskyj 2008; Minnaert 2012; Lienhard and Preuss 2014). This addition would perhaps ease the challenging views within the literature that suggest events merely act as smokescreens to real social problems by attracting attention away from everyday social needs (Smith 2012; Paton et al. 2012). Avraham (2004) suggests that the use of events or tourism must only be employed if the issues are not very severe; however, if the problems needing to be addressed are serious and challenging to solve, the city should solve them without merely employing a new marketing scheme or brand. The idea of events as obstacles to social renewal and relationships provide insight into what Smith (2009) calls, the 'darker side' of the way events are used to regenerate cities (Watt 2013; Smith 2009). Discussions around research that displays such views proposes that major events redevelopment strategies are generally felt by

underprivileged and disadvantaged communities experiencing displacement, breaking down of social networks and loss of affordable housing (Owen 2012; Watt 2013). Avraham (2004, p. 478) states that for cities aspiring to improved civic pride, a well-managed strategy should only be put in place within regeneration areas 'if the infrastructure and services have actually improved, and the changes in the city are perceived by locals as indeed promising a brighter future'. Otherwise, governments risk the local community not welcoming the changes or considering them to be of no use to the community members in that area.

Watt's (2013) research focusses on London's lower-income East Londoners in relation to legacy and displacement deliberations surrounding the London 2012 Olympic Games; however, he acknowledges that while displacement and gentrification are paramount issues regarding London 2012, these are also vital issues concerning the boarder nature of events globally (Watt 2013). Research that supports this argument argues that major events aggravate social problems, rather than heal them (Smith 2009; Paton et al. 2012). Examples of these negative impacts are evident in Newman's (1999) study in Atlanta's Olympic Games, where it was found that low-income residents were the most inconvenienced and disrupted by the Games preparations, which they regarded as just another way for business leaders to reshape the city. The disruption saw approximately 30,000 people displaced by Olympic-related gentrification and a further 9000 recorded arrest citations for homeless people in accordance to the Games related campaign to 'clean up the streets' (Davies 2012). The resulted effect of the upset cause to these local communities left a 'legacy of distrust' rather than the ideal of enhancing social sustainability (Smith 2009). Furthermore, Silk (2014) argues that mega sporting events are merely facilitators of gentrification and consumption, providing means to displace communities which do not fit the newly branded city image. Thus, the events act a way to abolish, instead of encourage, a sense of identity (Paton et al. 2012; Silk in Grix 2014). Moreover, Smith (2009) and Silk (2014) propose that mega sporting events are an example of commercial leisure and consumption, specifically linked to previously discussed modern neoliberalism agendas. A differing perspective on the role of events is Bakhtin's (1984) concept of carnivalesque. Key to understanding the concept of carnivalesque, Matheson and Tinsley (2016) identify the lack of regulatory control creates a sense of freedom from societal conventions. Therefore, it is proposed that publicly attended events are a way to permit organised and temporary expressions of festivity (Smith 2009), and not, as Silk (2014), p. 51 describes, solely 'designed for the purpose of encouraging consumption orientated capital accumulation'. Smith (2009) advises caution with these theories stating that events in these

settings appear to be viewed as obstacles to, as opposed to facilitators for, progressive social change. Although, Coalter (1998) does suggest critics of this argument state that even if events are commercially orientated, as they often are, they can provide substantial and meaningful forms of social and collective membership and identity. In order to avoid negative consequences, research suggests cities are investing in pre-Games research to provide recommendations to influence policy-makers and, overall, help generate positive benefits from legacy strategies, e.g. Health Impact Assessment encompassing recommendations, such as volunteering, health and participation levels (McCartney et al. 2013; Jones and Yates 2015).

3.3 Summary

This chapter has reviewed the literature regarding social impacts from major events and illustrated the development of research towards creating sustainable social legacies. The purpose of this literature review is to provide context for the following chapters in this thesis. Therefore, this literature review presents the complex nature of social legacy by firstly highlighting potential social impacts. It is argued here that social impacts must first be recognised in order to allow potential social legacies to develop; hence, the remainder of this thesis frames the concept of social legacy as a development and continuation of major events social impacts.

Currently, the importance placed on creating suitable legacies has become a conversation that has left a prominent mark on major event planning and operations (Bob and Swart 2010). Once a major event is over, questions are often asked about the common belief that sport may have a beneficial impact on the host community and regional economy (Horne 2007). Similarly, Smith (2009) argues that research suggests that one-off, short-lived events generally have a minimal impact on the long-term social sustainability of host communities. Economically, sporting mega events have been viewed as an industry around which cities can implement urban regeneration strategies (Horne 2007). In this way, sporting events have also been employed to aim to generate the local economic and social development (Preuss 2015). Socially, research suggests sporting events having been used as a tool for the reduction of social exclusion, development of urban communities and reduction in crime, as well as an opportunity for the host cities of sporting events to realise potential to create long-term social legacies (Grix 2012; Minnaert 2012; Preuss 2015; Stewart and Rayner 2016). However, there are critics of the use of major sporting events who claim the negative consequences, such as increased gentrification (Paton et al. 2012), increased consumerism (Silk in Grix 2014), displacement (Gray and Porter 2015), and wider wealth segregations (Wang, Bao and

Lin 2015) only reinforce negative social issues rather than help to rebuild and strengthen communities. While this chapter recognises both sides of major event social impacts, the overall aim is to determine if social impacts can become positive social legacies over time.

Therefore, the balance of arguments is utilised to inform a social legacy definition for event management research. The notion of social legacy is complex, and the following working definition is provided as an understanding of how social legacy is considered as a future development of social impacts to frame the remainder of this thesis. By providing a definition the literature review completed, the aim is highlighted to recognise pathways to generate social legacies that will benefit individuals, communities, and organisations within the host city. Therefore, considering the growing interest and acknowledgement of social legacy, the author proposes the following working definition:

Outwith the physical nature of tangible legacy, intentional or unintentional social legacy can be defined as all positive and negative, continual, and developing social impacts affecting individuals, communities and organisations.

This research aims to build on the notion that social impacts are a primary consideration prior to the creation of a social legacy. Therefore, it is argued that in order for social legacies to be accomplished, social impacts must first be understood. This literature review highlights the need for further research concerning social impacts in order to further social impact knowledge and application and to increase understanding surrounding social legacy. As suggested by McCartney et al. (2013, p. 33), the evidence base from prior Games regarding impacts, such as increased sports participation, improved environment, enhanced pride and sense of identity, volunteering, and economic development, while growing, remains lacking in rigour. Aligned with the pathways proposed by McCartney et al. (2013), this review analysed ways host cities may look to generate positive social legacies. The review has highlighted issues in measuring and monitoring social impacts as well as possible solutions through development in the area of social legacy measurement.

To provide structure to this analysis, Minnaert's (2012) categories of social impacts concerning individuals, communities and image, status and sense of place were utilised in combination with current academic and industry research. Starting by investigating social impacts upon individuals, this review suggests individual impacts focus on areas of health and wellbeing, skills accrurement and building social capital. Followed by an examination of impacts relating to communities, this review highlights thorough community engagement and fostering community social capital as

potential routes to social impacts. Next, impacts relating to image, status and sense of place are suggested to recognise reputational impacts, increased civic pride, and sense of identity as ways to generate positive social impacts. Furthermore, possible pathways to generate such impacts are highlighted as volunteering, community participation, and engagement. Thus, it supports McCartney et al.'s (2013) proposed pathways to generate health, wellbeing, and social impacts through providing volunteering opportunities, encouraging a sense of pride and improving the local environment. Overall, the highlighted social impacts in this review are argued to present the most potential to create social legacies from hosting a major sporting event.

The following chapter provides the methodology employed in order to examine these social impacts in relation to the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. The data collected is then analysed and structured by Minnaert's (2012) categories of impacts relating to individuals, communities and image, status and sense of place to provide consistency within this research, and highlight the stage that Glasgow is at with regard to realising social impacts prior to achieving social legacy creation. Furthermore, McCartney et al.'s (2013) health, wellbeing, and social impact pathways are utilised to determine the likelihood of generating social legacies from the examined social impacts.

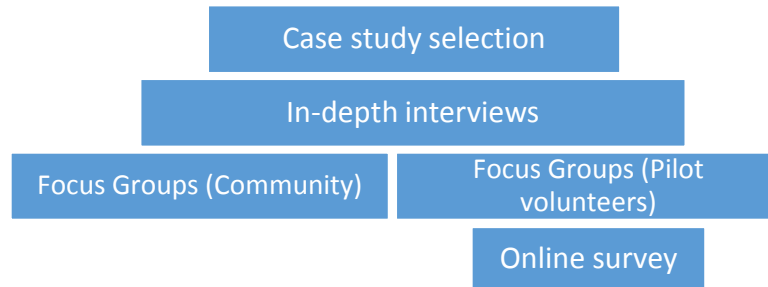
4.0 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

The main research questions regarding the role of major events in the creation of social legacy directed the research methodology for this thesis. This study seeks to examine the potential to generate a social legacy from a major event through the views of different stakeholders involved. Furthermore, this research emphasises the use of mixed methods to assess the social impacts and potential to create a social legacy from a major event; therefore, it is supported by Getz's (2012) research that highlights the varying theoretical perspectives of event and tourism studies within mixed methods. The process of selecting the methods (interviews, focus groups and an online survey) and relationship between the methods used in this study allowed for key insights to provide richness and insights into the lived experiences vital for social research. Specifically, the interviews allowed the chance to explore the concept of legacy in a specific geographical context; they were supported by the focus groups and survey, which were employed as methods to draw out more details and depth in the examination of both intended and unintended outcomes of hosting the Commonwealth Games in Glasgow.

The methodology is the knowledge and philosophy behind all research and should not be confused with the methods, which is the way the research is conducted (Adams et al. 2007; Willig 2008). This chapter provides a detailed description of the steps involved in the research philosophy, design and process, ranging from the creation of the overall research question to the data collection and analysis. Events have the ability to produce meanings for communities and individuals (Ziakas and Boukas 2014); therefore, this approach allows for multiple descriptions as opposed to one definite explanation or conceptualisation (Jennings 2005). This section introduces the reasoning behind the choice of this framework. These stages of research are detailed in Figure 2 and 3, and expanded upon in Table 9.

Figure 2 Research method strategy



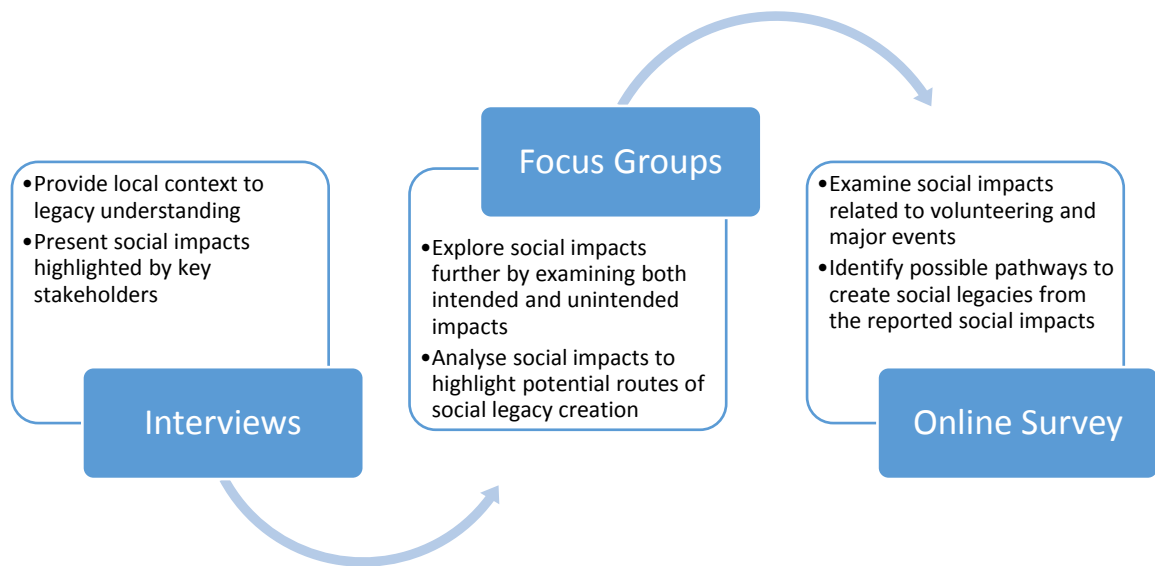
Within events management research, Getz (2012, p. 183) suggests mixed methods are now widely acknowledged, ‘a broader view of impacts and how to assess them (e.g. more use of mixed methods) is influencing event management’. Many scholars discuss the relatively recent emergence of mixed methods as a recognised major research approach (see Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner 2007; Teddlie and Yu 2007; Morgan 2007; Leech and Onwuegbuzie 2009; Mertens and Hesse-Biber 2012; Getz 2012). Also, while still limited, wider leisure research (including events, sport and tourism) can also be seen to employ mixed methods approaches more commonly (see Beeton in Ritchie et al. 2005; Weed 2005; Shipway and Jones 2007; Richards and Munsters 2010 Getz 2012). This research employs a mixed methods case study approach. The following section details each of the methods chosen for this thesis and expands upon the links between each.

Table 9 Links between research methods

Interviews: Allowed legacy understanding and implications to be framed in the local context of Glasgow, and allowed an in-depth report of possible social impacts of the Games and the future intentions regarding social legacy	
Community Focus Groups: Intended to explore reported social impacts from the interviews, as well as gain further information regarding both intended and unintended impacts felt within the local community to present potential viable pathways to realise future social legacies from the impacts presented	Volunteer Focus Group (Pilot): Intended to inform the online survey by examining volunteer’s experiences of the Games and the social impacts provided from the interviews
	Online Survey:

	Informed by the pilot focus groups, the survey allowed access to a wider sample to explore the social impacts related to volunteering in a major event context. Again, the intention here was to present the pathways to create social legacies from the volunteer's insights regarding reported social impacts experienced
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Figure 3 Relationship between the chosen methods



The first method of data collection utilised in this study is interviews. Key informant, in-depth interviews are more than a conversation and provide an opportunity to a wider range of information including feelings, expectations, perceptions and attitudes (Kothari 2004). Creswell et al. (2007) states key informant interviewees as ‘gatekeepers’, often deemed well-informed and are able to provide opportunities leading to new information. For this research, the interviews provided an opportunity to put legacy in a local context and explore key insights into Glasgow’s legacy imperative. This type of interview draws vital information from a variety of people who have relevant expertise and experience of their respective situations; therefore, the intention behind this method was to gain key stakeholder insights into legacy planning and implications for Glasgow as

a host city. To achieve this, 14 in-depth interviews were conducted ranging from 45 minutes to 80 minutes in length with key Games related organisations. These include organisations such as Glasgow 2014, Glasgow City Council, Clyde Gateway Regeneration Agency, Glasgow Centre for Population Health, Sports Scotland, Volunteer Scotland, Community Learning Campus, Council Legacy Hub Coordinator and Glasgow Life (See Table 11). Often, in-depth interviews can lead to future recommendations as well as providing insight into what is currently happening or has happened (Kothari 2004). Thus, the initial interviews for this research played a primary role in enabling introductions to be made leading to further interviews and establishing participants for the focus groups.

The second qualitative method used within this study, often used in conjunction with interviews (Ritchie 2003), was focus groups. This method is similar to an interview in the specifics of the issue or topic but is conducted with several people involved, normally at least four people participate up to approximately ten (Ritchie 2003; Bryman 2015). Recent years has seen the growth in use of focus group research with social science, having been used predominantly in marketing research beforehand (Markova et al. 2007; Bryman 2015). For the purpose of this research, the focus groups gave the opportunity to explore key points raised in the literature review and interviews in a local community setting. From the five focus groups conducted, 39 local residents participated in sharing their experiences and thoughts. These focus groups provided the chance to examine the intended impacts from hosting the Games, as well as the unintended impacts from a local perspective in order to determine the relevant routes that display potential to create social legacies.

Further to the interviews and focus groups, an online survey was made available to all participants who were involved in one or more volunteer programme related to the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. There were five volunteer programmes related to the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games (see Table 13), from the programmes a total of 229 online surveys were completed by Games volunteers. The inclusion of all volunteer programmes was a conscious decision made in order to gain a varied perspective and comparison between different programmes, while overall aiming to gauge the potential to create a social legacy from major event volunteering. Volunteering provides an opportunity to develop professional competencies, socialise, improve interpersonal skills and enhance learning and personal development (Morrow-Howell et al. 2014). Therefore, volunteer programmes are commonly employed to encourage economic and social regeneration for local communities, aligned with training and employment aims to provide the

volunteers with the environment to nurture new skills (Smith and Fox 2007) and create opportunities for individual and community development (Doherty 2009). Research suggests, while there is a growing body of literature on the legacy of sporting events, the potential has yet to be researched fully with regard to the large number of volunteers and the potential legacy (Downward and Ralston 2006; Nichols and Ralston 2012). In order to address this and guided by current major event volunteer research (see Jones and Yates 2015; Woodall et al. 2016), the online survey in this project utilised a wellbeing scale to examine the perceived change in personal wellbeing as well as open-ended questions to gain lived experiences. Perceived wellbeing as an indicator was selected as an assessment of the impact volunteering at a major sporting event has had upon the volunteer's life. In addition, the survey included questions regarding future volunteer intentions, previous volunteer experience, and overall satisfaction. The table below (Table 10) demonstrates the relationships between the research methods employed in this thesis aligned with the research objectives.

Table 10 Links between research methods

Objectives	Research method
To critically analyse the development and significance of event legacy with particular reference to social legacies	Interviews: to determine the how understanding and application of legacy and social legacy with a local context of Glasgow has developed legacy knowledge
To examine the social impacts for individuals, communities and organisations from the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games	<p>Individuals: Online survey to examine social impacts from volunteering, and interviews to examine social impacts from employees in key positions</p> <p>Communities: Focus groups exploring local residents experiences, and volunteering communities from Games related volunteer programmes</p> <p>Organisation: Interviews with elite level employees involved in legacy planning and governance in Glasgow</p>
To examine potential pathways to create social legacies from identified social impacts	Interviews, focus groups and online survey to analyse key social impacts and provide

	potential route of social legacy creation from said impacts
To establish best practice and present examples to provide valuable policy support for future host cities	Interviews, focus groups and online survey to examine stakeholder perspective of Glasgow's legacy planning and implication and how these findings can provide policy support and contributions to knowledge

It is suggested that many theoretical disciplines have helped to develop the area of event studies including anthropology, management, and human geography (Getz 2012). Ziakas and Boukas (2014, p. 57) suggest that to further develop the theoretical and practical understanding of event studies, more research concerning the experiential and existential aspects is needed; therefore, they suggest a phenomenological research framework for studying complex 'experiences and associated meanings of events'. The evolution of event studies to include social aspects is apparent in the definition provided by Getz (2012, p. 171) as 'the study of all planned events, with particular reference to that nature of the event experience and meanings attached to events and event experiences'. This research acknowledges that there could be multiple interpretations of what social legacy is and the impacts felt from the different groups involved; therefore, an interpretivist investigation is undertaken to discover the participants' thoughts, experiences and feelings within their views of reality.

To realise the aim of this chapter, it begins by introducing the research philosophy. It then directs attention to the approach taken for this project, detailing the chosen methods (mixed methods of in-depth interviews, focus groups and an online survey). Next, the reasoning for the questions asked and data collection protocol for all three methods is discussed, followed by a description of the three chosen samples. After this, the analysis methods are critiqued and matters of reliability, dependability, credibility and authenticity are debated identifying any limitations faced in this study through a research evaluation of the methodology process. A significant amount of attention is needed for the methodology chapter to produce a well-designed and appropriate methodological approach throughout thereby improving the quality and validity of the research (Kothari 2004).

4.2 The research paradigm

Research paradigms echo a particular ‘worldview’ attitude (Creswell et al. 2007) that the design of the project, and the way in which it is undertaken, demonstrates. The area of philosophy concerned with the concepts of knowledge, and the nature of knowledge itself is epistemology (Howitt 2011). From here, the research methods may arise from a number of research paradigms and approaches (Willig 2008). Sarantakos (2012) suggests that a flexible research design favours an interpretivist epistemology and phenomenological paradigm. It is this philosophical underpinning, combined with the aims of the study, which largely determines the approach and focus; therefore, it formulates the reasoning behind the research methodology and design (Willig 2008; Kumar 2011).

At this point, it is important to note that research suggests there is a tendency to approach epistemology and methods as being equal (Bryman 1984; Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). Epistemology concerns the nature of knowledge and how it is possible to know about the work (Snape and Spencer in Ritchie and Lewis 2003); whereas, methods are the tools used within the research approach to generate data to answer the proposed question (Ritchie and Lewis 2003). The researcher aimed to uphold a professional relationship and distance during the data collection; however, the relationship between researcher and participants evolves during the research process, and an epistemological understanding acknowledges that the research process can be influenced by the researcher.

Alternatively, there are various epistemological underpinnings regarding the theoretical perspectives of social research (Crotty 1998). Most commonly, positivism and interpretivism views have arisen (Howitt 2010; Harper 2012). The positivism paradigm is characterised by the concept of only one truth, a certainty that exists independent of human observation (Partington 2000; Finn, Elliott-White and Walton 2000). Thus, the researcher and point of study are independent objects and, therefore, the investigator will not be influenced by, or have influence on, the researched phenomena (Sale, Lohfeld and Brazil 2002; Willig 2008). Consequently, the quantitative research approach, a method that provides explanations and tests hypotheses, is typically based on this philosophy (Sale, Lohfeld and Brazil 2002; Parker 2011). Positivism proposes that there is a direct relationship between the observations and understandings of the world and the objects within (Willig 2008). Positivist methods, although uncommon in sociology studies, are dominant in event tourism research; this is particularly the case in economic and marketing studies where the majority of research is quantified and structured surveys (see Enright and Newton 2004; Ateljevic, Pritchard

and Morgan 2007; Coghlan and Filo 2013; Andersson and Lundberg 2013). Similarly, event regeneration legacy research is mainly based on economic reports (see Jones 2001; Kasimati 2003; Chalip 2006; Scott 2014; Hodgetts and Duncan 2015; Knott, Fyall and Jones 2015). These studies endeavour to predict and control occurrences through explanation; however, the explanations offered must be viewed as constrained facts since portions of the truth (for example, emotions, values and experiences) are left unexplored by this method (Decrop 2004; Tribe 2006). Thus, there are criticisms of the philosophy surrounding its inability to answer various significant or interesting areas of life through viewing human behaviour as, fundamentally, determined and controlled, thereby ignoring meaning, individuality and choice (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2007).

In contrast to the positivism philosophy is interpretivism. Interpretivism holds experiences, in particular individual's differential experiences, as the key entity of enquiry (Billinge 1977). Ziakas and Boukas (2014) argue the exploration of event experiences is an area that to date has been under researched. Ziakas and Boukas (2014) propose that to address the lack of event experience research, a phenomenological approach should be undertaken. They suggest 'phenomenology provides a sound philosophical framework for studying the multifaceted dimensions of experiences and associated meanings of events' (Ziakas and Boukas 2014, p. 56). Within social research design, Sarantakos (2012) describes that the phenomenological paradigm sits within an interpretivism epistemology and qualitative methodology; the philosophy is an expressive approach to human experience and maintains that it is the meaning of the experience that defines the individual's reality, not what it is (Billinge 1977; Parker 2011). While this study does employ mixed methods, it is predominantly qualitative and, overall, interested in the thoughts and feeling of the participants. With that in mind, phenomenological interpretivism is most suited to the proposed study of major event social legacy due to the focus on experience, thoughts and feelings; therefore, this study aims to highlight the value of phenomenological events research when examining the social experiences of individuals, organisations and communities.

Furthermore, interpretivism is derived from the idea that reality is socially created and continuously altering; therefore, there are multiple realities or truths based on the individual's construction of reality (Newman and Benz 1998; Sale, Lohfeld and Brazil 2002). Thus, the findings are mutually shaped through the investigator and investigated becoming simultaneously linked within the context of the situation influencing the research (Sale, Lohfeld and Brazil 2002). As a result, qualitative research methods, interested in individual's experiences and emotions, are linked to this epistemology (Kumar 2011), and overall event studies philosophy concerning the creation of new

event knowledge (Getz 2012). The aim of interpretivism is to gain a better understanding of the nature and quality of the researched phenomena. To do this, interpretivism, unlike the positivism concept, takes into consideration emotions, values and views; therefore, the analysis produced by the researcher is always an interpretation of the participant's experience (Tribe 2006; Willig 2008). Hence, multiple interpretations exist from different individuals that are equally valid (Willis and Jost 2007). However, within interpretivism, a reality must be apparent (Newman and Benz 1998). A researcher, highlighting subjectivity through using this method, does not deny that not all interpretations are reliable (Newman and Benz 1998).

Event sociologists have been turning to qualitative research for some time, although Decrop (2004) and Ateljevic et al. (2007) argue many of these studies used qualitative methods to provide information to further quantitative research. Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) emphasize that both qualitative and quantitative methods can be used in harmony to produce a more robust piece of research. Sarantakos (2012, p. 56) highlights this view within social research stating that, despite criticism, 'the popularity of mixed-methods research has grown significant with the number of qualitative researchers recognising mixed-methods research as an acceptable procedure having increased substantially'. Thus, quantitative and qualitative approaches should not automatically be considered as opposed research approaches (Snape and Spencer in Ritchie and Lewis 2003), but as equally capable and appropriate (Sarantakos 2012).

Similarities with events management research are evident in more established research fields such as tourism and sport tourism, where much of the event management literature emerged before being recognised as an academic discipline in its own right (Deery et al. 2004; Weed 2005; Smith 2012). This is reflected in national sport strategy documents which, when referring to sport tourism, commonly discuss Olympic Games or Masters Games. Sport tourism research includes major event organisations, tour operations, facilities management, and event management; therefore, the links between sport tourism research and event research are evident (Deery et al. 2004). Research recognises that the interpretivist concept has trailed behind its positivist predecessor. This statement is illustrated in Weed's (2006) review of sports tourism research, which concludes that perhaps the existing dominance of positivist methods is rooted in 'convention rather than epistemological concerns' (Weed 2005, p. 239). In the 2006 review, Weed (2006) argues sports tourism is categorised and reviewed in terms of epistemology. For the purposes of that research, the sporting event category is considered. Thus, from articles included in Weed's (2006) review using primary data, fourteen took a positivist approach compared to only five interpretivist

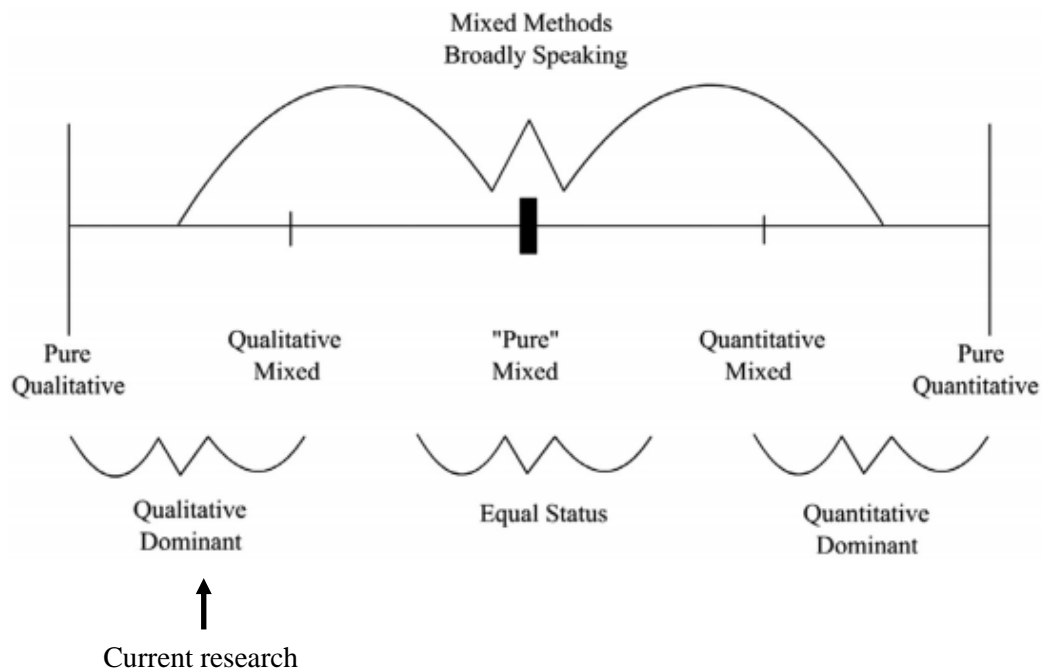
paradigms. Moreover, concerning the articles that used only secondary data, the results, likewise, demonstrated an inequality where four articles approached research through positivism as opposed to only two from interpretivist viewpoints. While Weed (2005; 2006) retains that positivism research has a place, he suggests movement towards a larger body of interpretivist sport-event research to enable a more experience and interaction focussed approach.

The importance of research into the evolving emphasis of legacy planning and social regeneration as crucial elements of urban regeneration plans (Sadd 2009; Sadd and Jones in Raj and Musgrave 2009; Smith 2011; Smith 2012) is highly recommended to gain a holistic and current overview of the emergent area. Considering the gap in research within events and urban regeneration legacy, research suggests that further study into this area should be qualitative in nature to allow for in-depth assessment (Shipway and Fyall 2013). A qualitative research design, from an interpretivism basis, often has one case or focus of study that examines meaning of event, outcome or existence of researched people or culture (Newman and Benz 1998). The overall purpose of qualitative research is to understand and discover feelings, values and experiences of a group of people with emphasis placed on process and meaning (Sale, Lohfeld and Brazil 2002; Kumar 2011). Therefore, this mixed method study has been largely qualitative using interviews and focus groups as the primary data collection methods, followed by a mixed methods online survey. The chosen combination of research approach and methods emphasises the need to address the gap concerning social legacy research within major sporting event studies.

Integrating various research paradigms posits a pathway towards a solution for many issues or difficulties in social research (Lieber and Weisner in Tashakkori and Teddie 2010). Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004 p. 17) define a mixed-methods research approach as ‘the class of research where the researcher mixes or combines quantitative and qualitative techniques, methods, approaches, concepts or language in a single study’. This approach, described as the third research movement, challenges the restrictions or constraints of single method studies in an effort to authenticate the use of multiple approaches to answer the research question (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004; Johnson et al. 2007). Similarly, Snape and Spencer (2003 in Ritchie and Lewis) set out the use of both quantitative and qualitative methods as complimentary when understood and helpful towards the pursuit of the answer to the proposed research question. Likewise, Johnston et al. (2007, p. 113) define the contemporary use of mixed methods as ‘an approach to knowledge (theory and practice) that attempts to consider multiple viewpoints, perspectives, positions and standpoints’. This is particularly applicable to this research due to aim

for both advancing academic research in this area and providing research to inform future best practice within events legacy research. Furthermore, the varying samples allow and encourage different perspectives, viewpoints and positions representing different experiences and thoughts. For this project, a smaller quantitative element is present in a predominantly qualitative research paradigm. To illustrate this, the current research is plotted on Johnson et al.'s (2007 p. 124, see Figure 3) figure demonstrating the ways mixed methods can be employed following their review and conceptualisation of mixed method's multiple definitions and applications.

Figure 4 Graphic of the three major research paradigms, including subtypes of mixed methods research



Johnson et al. 2007, p. 124

Here, this research can be seen to be plotted in what Johnson et al. (2007) sets out as qualitative dominant. It is suggested the concept of qualitative dominant can be easily applied to this research for two reasons. First, there is only one element which can be described as quantitative, the online survey. Secondly, the online survey in itself is contains a mix of qualitative opened ended questions. Morgan (2007) promotes the benefits of a mixed methods approach to utilise all available research appropriately to advance knowledge. Epistemologically, the way in which knowledge is created through mixed methods in this study promotes a movement away from solely 'mixing or combining methods and puts us in a position to argue for a properly integrate

methodology for social sciences' (Morgan 2007, p. 73). Through the understanding of both qualitative and quantitative research weaknesses and strengths, the author can conclude whether to combine or mix strategies to undertake the most suitable research paradigm (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie 2004). Therefore, the research paradigm for this project can be defined as:

‘Qualitative dominant mixed methods research is the type of mixed methods in which one relies on a qualitative, constructivist-poststructuralist-critical view of the research process, while concurrently recognising that the addition of quantitative data and approaches are likely to benefit most research projects’ (Johnson, Onwuegbuzie and Turner 2007, p.124).

With that in mind, this project considers each element to the qualitative dominant mixed method approach from the same philosophical and epistemological stance and aims to follow a methodology paradigm that is most meaningful and appropriate to answer the overall research question. This approach is widely accepted with case study research (Morgan 2007; Biggam 2008).

4.3 Research design

An eminent research design when there is a specific focus is the case study approach (Bell 1993; Biggam 2008). Case studies offer the opportunity to study one aspect of an event, occasion, topic, issue or programme in some depth within a limited time scale (Bell 1993; Hays in deMarrais and Lapan 2004). Furthermore, case studies often use a number of research methods simultaneously, though interviews are commonly used as the main means of data collection (Biggam 2008). The case study approach allows the researcher to ask topic-specific questions and gain rich, in-depth answers and interpretations (Hays in deMarrais and Lapan 2004). For this research, the ability to investigate one topic in detail, utilising a number of methods, was a major strength. This was particularly useful since Glasgow’s approach to hosting the Commonwealth Games demonstrated a number of innovative elements, such as having a dedicated Legacy Minister and having the Legacy Committee embedded in the Games Organising Committee; therefore, it is argued a case study enabled the focus and depth needed to complete this research. Nevertheless, a case study design was not without issues in application. An alternative research approach explored at the initial design stage was a comparative study. It was proposed that more than one host city would perhaps enable a wider range of literature available within the under researched area of social legacy; however, a single case study is argued to enable the depth needed to examine the complex nature of legacy and, indeed, social legacy in the unique context of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games.

The primary data collected for this research come from:

- In-depth interviews with stakeholders with relevant experience and involvement in programmes or organisations linked to legacy programmes and community engagement (n=14)
- Focus groups with community members in the East End of Glasgow (n=5, total participants 39)
- Survey questionnaire completed by Games volunteers (n=229)

Triangulation of qualitative and quantitative methods is argued to allow researchers to confirm and validate findings with a single study (Teddle and Yu 2007). Furthermore, Mertens and Heese-Biber (2012) argue that triangulation plays a vital role in mixed methods in enabling the qualitative and quantitative to be integrated in approaching a social phenomenon. Hence, the triangulated mixed methods approach in this thesis was executed to complement the findings, as well as, provide a cohesive narrative towards the creation of social legacy. The following three sub sections will introduce each of the methods used to make up this case study.

4.3.1 Interviews

Guided by a range of themes apparent from the literature and similar to many qualitative studies which are flexible and evolving in nature (Creswell et al. 2007; Kumar 2011, Ziakas and Boukas 2014), in-depth interviews have been described as semi-structured or conversation with purpose (Kahn and Cannell 1957). Qualitative data is based on meaning expressed in words, and, through analysis, theories can develop from the collected data (Saunders et al. 2007). The questions have been used as reference points to guide the conversation with participants, allowing for adaptation and additional comments depending on the circumstances and conversation progression (Saunders et al. 2007; Mears in Arthur et al. 2012). The emerging nature of this data draws parallels from Kvale's (1996) notion of the 'traveller metaphor', which relates to when knowledge is not merely given but created, where the interviewer is the traveller that interprets conversations. 'The traveller ... asks questions that lead the subjects to tell their own stories of their lived world, and converses with them in the original Latin meaning of conversation as "wandering together with"' (Kvale 1996, p. 4). Hence, as described by Gubrium and Holstein (1997), the interviewer is not solely an observer or listener; rather, the interviewer is an active part of the relationship with the interviewee where knowledge is constructed and transmitted. While researchers may raise issues of validity or reliability when faced with the notion that knowledge is created within an interview situation,

Legard, Keegan and Ward (2003) emphasise that the growth in constructionism, feminism and postmodernism perspectives among researchers allow for developments and alterations with in-depth interviewing and different methods of interviews. Mears (2012) suggests by showing interest and respect throughout the interview process, trust and a rapport are allowed to build. As well providing a setting in which rich, contextual data can be collected, establishing a rapport with interviews enables a level of reliability through a trusting and respectful relationship that may lead to identifying future participants (Mears in Arthur et al. 2012).

The phrase 'elite interviews', much like key informant, refers to an individual who holds a unique role and can provide knowledge and insight on topics that others perhaps cannot (Yin 2011). In general, the 'in-depth nature of interviews warrants a rich amount of data with a small number of respondents' (Ziakas and Boukas 2014, p. 21). Therefore, the chosen sample has been selected because of their expertise and experience in correlation with their role within one or a combination of the event, the city and the organisation. This technique, regularly used in case study research, was selected by adhering to a purposive non-probability sampling technique (Saunders et al. 2007). For this research, the richness of data is paramount due to relatively small sample size because of the uniqueness to each Games and city plan. Purposively selecting informants ensures interviewees are experts in the phenomenon under study (Ziakas and Boukas 2014). Furthermore, snowball sampling was used to the expand the interview sample (Ziakas and Boukas 2014). This technique allows the interviewer to use the established relationship and trust from each interview to gain access to further potential interviewees (Flick 2006).

Conducting in-depth interviews are a focussed interaction where the interviewer endeavours to reveal experiences the interviewee may have had, expertise they have for the topic, what he or she feels and thinks about a subject, and what significance or meaning the experience holds (Mears in Arthur et al. 2012). Therefore, this research emphasises the diverse range of stakeholders within a host city linked to the potential to create social legacies. Significantly, it was pertinent to this research to gain access to a broad range of stakeholders to analysis varying perspective. Therefore, to gain in-depth data for the proposed study, the interview participants (n=14) from programmes or organisations associated with legacy programmes and planning, and community engagement. These include organisations such as Glasgow 2014, Glasgow City Council, Clyde Gateway Regeneration Agency, Glasgow Centre for Population Health, Sports Scotland, Volunteer Scotland, Community Learning Campus, Council Legacy Hub Coordinator and Glasgow Life (See Table 11).

Table 11 Interviewee by job role and representative organisation

Interviewee by participant number	Organisation category
Interview Participant 1 (IP1)	Local authority
Interview Participant 2 (IP2)	Voluntary sector organisation
Interview Participant 3 (IP3)	Games organisation
Interview Participant 4 (IP4)	Local author partnership organization
Interview Participant 5 (IP5)	Community organisation
Interview Participant 6 (IP6)	Community organisation
Interview Participant 7 (IP7)	Sport governing body
Interview Participant 8 (IP8)	Social research organisation
Interview Participant 9 (IP9)	Community association
Interview Participant 10 (IP10)	Volunteer programme
Interview Participant 11 (IP11)	Local authority Legacy Hub
Interview Participant 12 (IP12)	Voluntary organisation leader/Volunteer
Interview Participant 13 (IP13)	Public sector organisation
Interview Participant 14 (IP14)	Public sector organisation

While conducting in-depth interviews often requires skills interviewers may already possess, e.g., the ability to take notes, the interviewer must also be confident in their capability to sense the interviewee's feelings whilst remaining open-minded, be comfortable in silences and the use of probing techniques or prompts. By recognising the potential limitations from in-depth interviewing, the author has the ability to ensure appropriate and thorough planning is done prior to interviewing. Mears (2012) suggests that interviewers must acknowledge personal skills, such as patience, as well as considerable time and energy. Hence, the coordination of calendars and schedules for multiple people can prove a challenge. Furthermore, the lack of structure when conducting semi-structured interviews or using 'themes' as question guides does not necessarily provide clearly defined steps to follow for the research process; therefore, data collection and analysis can be simultaneous highlighting difficulties in what constitutes as sufficient data. That being said, similar to Sarantakos (2012) and Ziakas, and Boukas (2014), Mears (2012) emphasises that when conducting interviews, the researcher is able to establish good interaction and learn from

what is said; however, unpredictability should be acknowledged when relying on interactions with other people and is a potential challenge arising from interviews.

Boyce and Neale (2006) provide five steps when conducting in-depth interviews: plan, develop instruments, collect data, analyse data and disseminate findings. Following this plan, identifying the stakeholders and information needed from whom is the first step. Second, an interview protocol was developed and piloted to ensure understanding throughout along with an information sheet designed for the interviewee, and the interview opening and closing statements. Next, any interview training needed was completed, and the author ensured comfort with the interview process. The fourth step in Boyce and Neale (2006) concerns collecting the data. Included in this step is the importance of clarifying the research aim, ensuring interviewee consent and summarising the interview upon completion. Lastly, the data must be transcribed and analysed. In addition to the above steps, referring to the project's aims and objective throughout the design process enables a checklist process of topics to be covered; therefore, the questions are ordered, relevant, appropriate and necessary for the interviews. The questions designed were used as guide and not strictly adhered to as the purpose was to delve into the experiences and thoughts of their role in relation to the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games, as well as their perspective on legacy planning, social legacy and regeneration (see Appendix 4). An interview information sheet was designed and a copy presented to each interviewee (see Appendix 1).

While the questions covering the entirety of project interests remained the same for each interview, flexibility was inbuilt to adjust the phrasing to suit the appropriate situation, initiative or job role concerning that interviewee. The interviews completed for this thesis ranged from 30 minutes to one and a half hours in length. Throughout the interviews notes were taken concerning the research themes to provide a brief narrative and note any point to be clarified during the interview. Each interview was transcribed verbatim after the interview and, combined with the notes taken during the interviews, emerging themes were highlighted. There were minimal challenges throughout the interview process for this research. Each interviewee was engaged throughout the conversation, providing key insights based on their expertise into their role and experience of Glasgow's approach to hosting the Commonwealth Games. Overall, the interviews provided chance to put legacy in the local context of Glasgow and enabled an in-depth and suitable basis for the complimentary methods used in this thesis.

4.3.2 Focus groups

Focus group research is occasionally grouped in with group interview methods. Kitzinger (1995, p. 299) argues, ‘focus groups are a form of group interview that capitalises on communication between research participants in order to generate data’. However, Bryman (2015) provides three distinctions between the two methods (see Table 12):

Table 12 Focus group distinctions

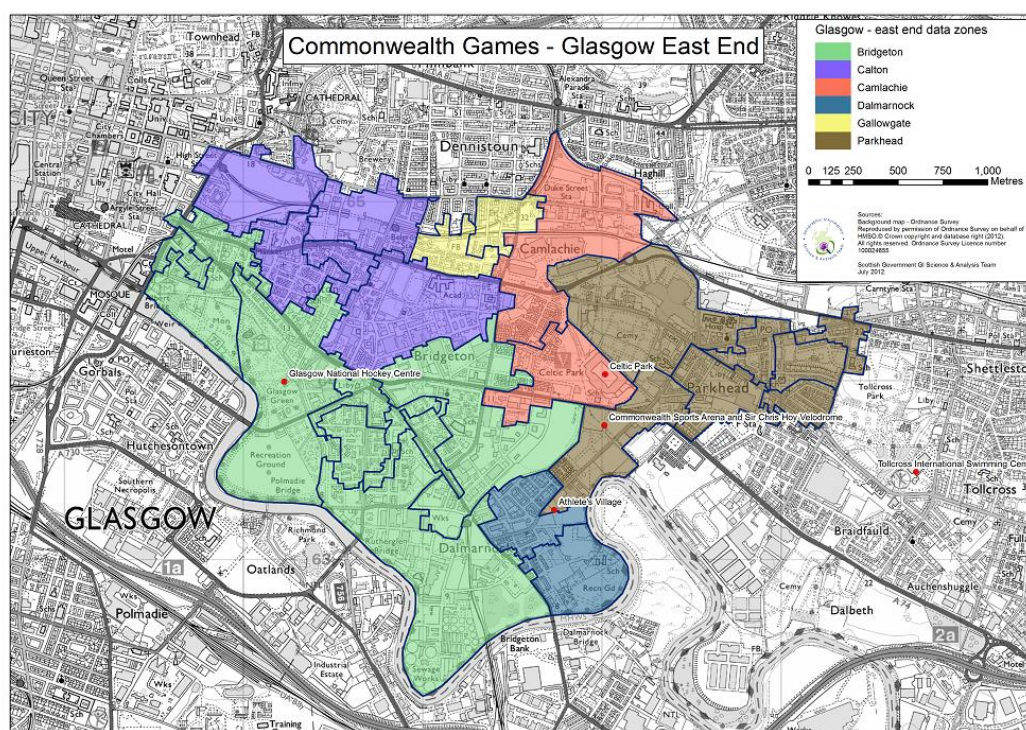
Focus groups typically emphasise a specific theme or topic that is explored in depth, whereas group interviews often span very widely.
Sometimes groups interviews are carried out so the researcher is able to save time and money by carrying out interviews with a number of individuals simultaneously. Focus groups are not carried out for this reason.
The focus group practitioner is invariably interested in the ways in which individual discuss certain issue <i>as members of a group</i> , rather than simply as individuals. In other words, with a focus groups the researcher will be interested in such things as how people respond to each other’s views and build up a view out of the interaction that takes place with the group.

Bryman 2015, p. 501

In addition to the distinctions above, Kitzinger’s (1995, p. 299) argues that using focus groups allows the group to process information collectively and can ‘help people to explore and clarify their views in ways that would be less easily accessible in a one to one interview’. Furthermore, Ritchie (2003) suggests focus groups are an appropriate method to utilise when the topic is abstract or conceptual. Therefore, the use of focus groups for this research enabled the author to: 1) observe group interactions and discussions on a specific topic (Ritchie 2003), 2) detect the way in which the group responded to other participants' views, and 3) examine how communication took place within the group (Ritchie 2003; Bryman 2015). Furthermore, the focus groups were not conducted in an effort to save money or time, but rather to gain an in-depth, real-life view from participants; in other words, focus groups can aid in providing a social context to explore experiences and gather data generated through conversations (Ritchie 2003). Krueger and Casey (2014) suggest that focus groups enable entry into a world that would otherwise be unknown.

For this study the focus groups participants are all community members who reside within the in the East End of Glasgow in order to gain an accurate perspective and access to public opinion regarding physical and social development, legacy planning, social impacts (Markova et al. 2007). From the East End of Glasgow area map (Figure 5) the focus groups completed were 3 in Bridgeton area, 1 in Parkhead area and 1 in Camlachie area (n=5). The number of participants ranged from 5 – 12, totalling 39 participants. Importantly, the focus groups were also all conducted within local community centres where the participants felt comfortable, something that Krueger and Casey (2015) suggest encourages the community members to freely give their opinions and feel respected. Notably, also to promote an honest and open discussion, focus groups were held with already established community groups; a factor that Barbour (2008, p. 34) suggests ‘facilities more rounded and reasoned responses’. Due to the research aims of examining social legacy from hosting a major event, conducting focus groups allowed a discussion of experiences to evolve, identify any commonalities, both positive and negative, and provide a focussed dialogue to gain rich data (Kitzinger 1994; Krueger and Casey 2015).

Figure 5 East End of Glasgow area map



(<http://www.gov.scot/Resource/0042/00420670-1000.png>)

The questions asked were aimed at understanding what, if any, impact the community had experienced from the regeneration which had taken place with the East End (see appendix 5) and, on average, lasted between 50 minutes to 1 hour and 20 minutes. A similar method was employed by Woodall et al. (2016, p. 12) when examining volunteering experiences from the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games, stating, 'focus groups were the primary method of capturing the experiences of Clyde-siders and non-Clyde-siders. Focus groups offered an opportunity for individual to discuss their individual and collective experiences in a comfortable environment'. In the same vein, this research required participants to share their Games regeneration experiences in order to gain an insight into the potential impact felt locally.

It is suggested there are limitations to focus groups, such as the moderator's influence on the group's behaviour, possible dominant voices, cultural differences and group tensions (Smithson 2000). Aiming to diffuse the possible weaknesses in this method, the author utilised the relationships with the interviewees and this enabled an introduction to be made. Furthermore, the author attended a Community Open Day at Bridgeton Community Learning Campus in order to meet community members and arrange future focus groups. During the focus groups, on some occasions, the author participated in the task the community group were completing (such as knitting and card-making); therefore, this can be seen to have encouraged a trusting and respectful environment. During the focus groups, the conversation was directed by the research area; therefore, this encouraged participants to share their experience and thoughts in an area that moderator has not as experienced.

Focus groups are directed to some extent by the moderator (the author), recorded and transcribed (Wilkinson 1998); importantly, 'focus groups involve the interaction of group participants with each other as well as with the moderator, and it is that collection of this kind of interactive data which distinguishes the focus groups from the one-to-one interview' (Wilkinson 1998, p. 182). As with the interviews, the author took notes as a narrative of the focus groups. The focus group participants were each given an information sheet (Appendix 1) and required to provide consent of recording and participating in the conversation. The recordings were transcribed verbatim after each of the focus groups.

There are a number of challenges to focus groups. First, Bryman (2015, p. 508) cautions that 'getting equal level of participation is unrealistic'; therefore, attention must be paid to gaining an acceptable level of participation from respondents which could prove challenging for a moderator.

While a level of diversity may bring some debate, it is normally helpful to have some demographic or geographical commonality within a focus group (Ritchie 2003). While there may be themes or a specific topic to discuss, focus group research tends to have less structure than interview questions. Not only might structuring a group discussion prove difficult, but also the idea behind the discussion is that data emerges fluently and naturally (Arthur and Nazroo in Ritchie and Lewis 2003). The focus groups for this project were organised within a local community or learning centre to provide location commonality between participants. Furthermore, established groups were utilised to ensure a level of attendance and try to mitigate against lack of participation since the participant already felt comfortable debating and answering questions in the group. Reflecting on this process, the focus groups in this thesis presented few challenges. Once the contacts for each group had been made, the participants appeared interested in the research, providing revealing and useful discussions concerning the experience of the Games in Glasgow. On one occasion, the discussion went slightly away from the intended topic; however, the focus group members directed it back to the question asked without the researcher needing to intervene. Taking into consideration the potential issues of focus group research, the author overall enjoyed the process and remains certain this method was best suited in order to gain the data required.

4.3.3 Online survey

The quantitative findings for this thesis are based on responses to an online survey made available to every volunteer who participated in a Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games related volunteer initiative. Two focus groups with Games volunteers were carried out in Glasgow as a pilot to decide upon the online survey questions. The volunteer sample (n=229) in this study was not from a specific region or place; rather, the targeted sample required a general sample of volunteers required only to have volunteered as part of a Glasgow 2014 related programme. Due to the large number of volunteers, and to save and costs, for this research, the online survey was employed due to the varied and geographically spread-out nature of the required sample; therefore, a postal questionnaire was not possible. Furthermore, a requirement to participate in the majority of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games volunteer programmes was to be contactable via email; therefore, the participants would have online access. Of the responses received, 10 were disregarded due to being incomplete. Therefore, the final sample consisted of 229 completed surveys.

The low cost nature, better-anticipated answers to open-ended questions and better data accuracy were deciding factors in the choice of this data collection tool. For this research, the online survey used Bristol Online Survey as its platform. The survey homepage stated relevant participant information included purpose, aims, contact information and uses of the data. Research suggests that using an online survey approach has the potential to increase the number of survey responses as well as the type of participants (Case et al. 2013). The largest group of Games volunteers were the Clyde-siders; the Commonwealth Games official Games time volunteers. Also included were the Baton Bearers, Cast and Ceremonies volunteers and Frontrunners, the latter being the pre-Games volunteers who were responsible for interviewing, training, protocol, mascots and PR events. Further to these groups, Glasgow Life, part of Glasgow City Council, implemented a Host City Volunteer programme. As previously mentioned, this programme was designed to target minority groups in Glasgow City and provided predominantly way finding and information services outside of sporting competition venues (see Table 13). It is important to acknowledge that it was possible for individuals to participate in more than one volunteer programme, therefore the total number of surveys completed is less than the representative number in Table 13 as many of the volunteers selected more than one programme.

Table 13 Games volunteer programmes and roles

Volunteer Programme	Roles
Baton Bearer (n=12)	Glasgow 2014 Baton Bearer around every Scottish district
Frontrunner (n=48)	Glasgow 2014 Pre-Games volunteer programme across multiple role including recruitment, protocol, mascot etc.
Clydesider (n=179)	Glasgow 2014 Games times role across every functional area
Ceremonies (n=30)	Glasgow 2014 Ceremonies cast member volunteers
Host City Volunteer Programme (n=22)	Glasgow Life Volunteer programme providing wayfinding and information outwith Games venues

The online survey was made available online 10 months post-Games in June 2015. This decision was made in an attempt to avoid the ‘feel-good’ factor (see Porsche and Maennig 2008; Smith

2009) commonly reported in research conducted directly after a major event. It was found that an online survey would reach a wider sample and not be restricted by location or ability to attend a focus group (Case et al. 2013). The mix of questions is supported by evidence suggesting that when participants fill out open-ended questions they tend to use more words and provide more in-depth answers (Barrios and Carmen 2011; Case et al. 2013; Bryman 2015). Furthermore, the survey called for respondents to be reflective; therefore, it needed to be some time after the event in order to allow for capacity to reflect on past experiences (Woodall et al. 2016). It was advertised through social media (e.g., Facebook volunteer groups, Twitter) as well as posted on Volunteer Scotland's website. The survey information and web link was also published in Volunteer Scotland's newsletter twice, complimented by a blog written by the author highlighting the importance and potential impact of this research on major event volunteer legacies (see Appendix 2). The survey remained open for six months until December 2015.

The survey comprised qualitative open-ended questions, supported by demographic information questions and the use of the Edinburgh Warwick Mental Health Wellbeing Scale (WEMWBS) to provide quantitative data from this sample. The WEMWBS was selected due to its personal wellbeing focus and the inclusion of measures such as confidence and positivity. Defined in the user guide, the WEMWBS 'is worded positively and together they cover most, but not all, attributes of mental well-being including both hedonic and eudaimonic perspectives. Areas not covered include spirituality or purpose in life. These were deemed to extend beyond the general population's current understanding of mental well-being and their inclusion was thought likely to increase non-response' (Stewart-Brown and Janmohamed 2008, p. 3). Aligned with the growing research interest in wellbeing measurement (Tennant et al. 2007; Pawlowski et al. 2014), the measurement of perceived wellbeing improvement was used to determine if volunteering at Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games has the potential to leave a social legacy.

With regard to the self-reported, retrospective well-being scale, Warwick Edinburgh Mental Wellbeing Scale (WEMWBS) (See table 14 below, and Appendix 6), the participants were asked to fill out a portion of demographic questions followed by the scale while thinking about how they thought and felt before taking part in a Games related volunteer programme. The use of the retrospective survey can be seen to be used within similar studies of health and wellbeing (Graham et al. 2014), the impact of the Commonwealth Games on Glasgow's health (McCartney et al. 2013), volunteering (Wahrendorf et al. 2016) and resident social cohesion and interactions (Zhu et al. 2014). From previous research, it is suggested retrospective surveys may be subject to error when

remembering past experiences, possible honeymoon effect (Zhu et al. 2014) or recall bias (Wahrendorf et al. 2016). Despite these limitations, this study addressed important gaps in research concerning major event volunteering and its potential legacy. The respondents were then asked to reflect on their experience of being involved in a volunteer programme and fill out the WEMWBS scale for the second time. That was followed by questions regarding their thoughts on the impact for Glasgow and Scotland, on their life and their overall satisfaction of their involved. The use of the scale was intended to show how the participants feel about themselves pre- and post-Games having been part of a volunteer programme. McCartney et al. (2013) suggest volunteering as a critical pathway for generating a direct health, wellbeing and social impacts concerning major event legacies; therefore, this scale was included in the online survey to provide an in-depth wellbeing element to this research. This was completely anonymous. It was necessary for the respondents to complete the WEMWBS twice in order to have a basis for comparison; therefore, the participants were required to complete the scale for a second time thinking about how they think and feel now. Previously the WEMWBS has been used for surveys including, but not limited, Scottish Health Survey from 2008, British Social Attitudes Survey 2007, NHS Grampian Population Surveys (Stewart-Brown and Janmohamed 2008).

Table 14 Warwick Edinburgh Mental Wellbeing Scale

STATEMENTS	None of the time	Rarely	Some of the time	Often	All of the time
I've been feeling optimistic about the future	1	2	3	4	5
I've been feeling useful	1	2	3	4	5
I've been feeling relaxed	1	2	3	4	5
I've been feeling interested in other people	1	2	3	4	5
I've had energy to spare	1	2	3	4	5
I've been dealing with problems well	1	2	3	4	5
I've been thinking clearly	1	2	3	4	5

I've been feeling good about myself	1	2	3	4	5
I've been feeling close to other people	1	2	3	4	5
I've been feeling confident	1	2	3	4	5
I've been able to make up my own mind about things	1	2	3	4	5
I've been feeling loved	1	2	3	4	5
I've been interested in new things	1	2	3	4	5
I've been feeling cheerful	1	2	3	4	5

The qualitative questions asked in the online survey were designed to allow participants to share their thoughts and experiences in their own words. Ritchie and Lewis (2003, p. 75) states 'the detailed nature of its questioning means that qualitative research can be used to collect retrospective accounts'. Questions included 'Can you describe your experience in being involved in the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games?', 'What impact will the Games have your life? e.g. has it changed anything for you? Or not? Do you do anything you didn't before or are planning on?'. All of the questions can be found in Appendix 3. Importantly, it is acknowledged that the different volunteer programmes investigated in this study did have different overall aims. Specifically, the Glasgow 2014 programmes' (Clyde-siders, baton bearers, frontrunners and cast members) primary concern was the success of the Games delivery. Whereas, the Host City Volunteer programme was a targeted initiative aimed at encouraging inclusivity within Games volunteering amongst marginalised communities usually unrepresented. However, the different aims did not detract from the involvement in Games time volunteering and its possible social impact. Since the aim of this research is to obtain experiences of volunteering in conjunction with a major event, the purpose of the different volunteer scheme did not influence the ability of participants to give their opinion.

Due to the multiple locations of the Games volunteers, an online survey remains the most appropriate research method to gain the sample required. The completion rate was a potential concern prior to posting the online survey, as this survey combined both quantitative tick box questions and qualitative questions, where the participant is required to share their experiences;

however, the surveys completed were extremely thorough and insightful regarding experiences of being a Games volunteer. Furthermore, there were minimal surveys left incomplete. Of the responses received, 10 were disregarded due to being incomplete. Following the WEBMWS User Guide protocol, these incomplete surveys were deleted. This did not produce cause for concern regarding the sample size due the number of fully complete and useful surveys collected (n=229).

4.4 Data analysis

A welcome development in social research is the growth of qualitative research methods; however, the development of tools to analyse this data is lacking (Attride-Stirling 2001). A vast amount of textual data is produced from qualitative research on a small number of participants (Hyde 2000; Pope, Ziebland and Mays 2000). Written or recorded information collected must then be examined through context analysis (Pope, Ziebland and Mays 2000) or thematic analysis (Attride-Stirling 2001; Braun and Clark 2013). Qualitative methodologies, traditionally, assume the inductive analysis process – collected progressively from the data (Pope, Ziebland and Mays 2000; Hyde 2000; Morse and Mitcham 2002; Thomas 2006). In comparison to the deductive approach, which is usually adopted in a quantitative study concerning data in the form of numbers and is theory testing process (Hyde 2000; Vaismoradi et al. 2013). Inductive reasoning can be used to establish themes and allows findings to emerge from the phenomena under examination (Hyde 2000; Pope, Ziebland and May 2000; Thomas 2006). While this study combines both qualitative and quantitative approaches, it is predominately qualitative; therefore, thematic analysis has been used for the interview texts, focus groups texts and the open-ended survey questions to establish common response themes (Jones and Yates 2015). Concerning the quantitative element, statistical software package (SPSS) was employed to aid with analysing the WEMWBS data, demographic information and satisfaction scores.

As suggested by the WEMWBS user guide, the data is presented, firstly, as a mean score for the sample with 95% confidence interval. By analysing the mean score from this data sample, it enabled a useful comparison between quantitative data collected in this study and the wider population mean score. As this research is concerning differences between scores of the same group at different times, the user guide suggest statistical testing is employed; therefore, paired-samples t-tests were conducted to compare each before and after thoughts and feelings. A basic statistical tool, t-tests measure group variances by investigating the difference and mean in each group

(Andrew et al. 2011). Therefore, this data analysis method allowed the before and after WEMWBS results to be fully examined highlighting any differences.

Braun and Clark (2013, p. 122) argue, 'despite widespread use, thematic analysis has only recently started to achieve the brand recognition held by methodologies such as grounded theory and interpretative phenomenological analysis'. Similarly, research suggests that thematic analysis has often been under recognised and introduced as a section of phenomenology (Sadd 2012; Vaismoradi et al. 2013). Vaismoradi et al. (2013) further state that the confusing use of thematic analysis has led to the approach being named phenomenological thematic analysis (Sandelowski and Barroso 2003) or thematic content analysis (Green and Thorogood 2004), contributing to the lack of consistency and boundaries which has seen thematic analysis relatively overlooked. Thematic analysis can be described as 'a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) with data' (Braun and Clark 2006, p. 79). The concept of a theme refers to a specific pattern of meaning which has emerged from the dataset (Joffe 2012). The developed themes can be used to identify and explain social phenomena and the relationship between concepts that arise (Hyde 2000; Pope, Ziebland and Mays 2000). The qualitative methods used in this study allow the researcher to study in-depth and identify gradual themes that emerge from the data (Pope, Ziebland and Mays 2000; Hyde 2000; Morse and Mitcham 2002; Thomas 2006); hence, inductively analysing the findings of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games through thematic analysis.

The case study has been structured using themes, apparent through the data gathered and highlighted in the literature review. Whilst referring back to the literature, it is imperative to acknowledge emerging themes, building upon the chosen themes to shape a valid discussion (Aronson 1995). Theoretical consideration can help at many stages in doing case study research; however, case study data analysis does not follow the procedures that may exist with alternative research methods (Yin 2011). Generally, case study data collection and analysis are likely to happen in an intermingled fashion (Yin 2011). The qualitative methods used in this study allow the researcher to build continuing themes that emerge from the data (Pope, Ziebland and Mays 2000; Hyde 2000; Morse and Mitcham 2002; Thomas 2006). Throughout this project, the collected data has been constantly evaluated with regard to its meaning and adequacy in order to highlight recurring themes to guide the analysis process (Saunders et al. 2007). Thematic analysis identifies patterns and themes of experience and behaviour (Aronson 1995; Attride-Stirling 2001). Thematic networks developed provided a structure to the analysis to allow the emerging themes to be identified, explored and the deeper meaning understood (Attride-Stirling 2001).

For the purpose of this research, the notes and transcripts have been word-processed and the data analysis software Nvivo 10 has been used. The software has enabled greater development and connection while making the whole analysis process faster and more efficient (Bryman 2012). The data collected has been transcribed allowing the author to manage and comprehend the information whilst identifying key themes for analysis and exploration (Saunders et al. 2007). The analysis process carried out was drawn from a number of sources (Attride-Stirling 2001; Saunders et al. 2007; Braun and Clarke 2013). Guided by Saunders, Lewis and Thornhill's (2007) procedure of categorisation, unitising, recognising relationships and developing to reach conclusions (Saunders et al. 2007), the author identified codes, guided by the purpose of the research, apparent in the collected data by reading each transcript thoroughly and underlining any differences or similarities in responses. Braun and Clarke (2013, p. 123) advise:

Coding is not simply a method of data reductions; it is also an analytic process, so codes capture both semantic and conception reading of the data. The researcher codes every data item and ends this phase by collating all their codes and relevant data extracts.

Guided by these phases of thematic analysis, the author then categorised the data into the themes through making notes and highlighting appropriate sections. Thematic analysis can prove particularly useful when combined with a range of data by helping to identify the emergence of ideas and the development of specific representations within the data (Joffe 2012; Braun and Clarke 2013). Furthermore, thematic analysis is flexible to be applied to large or small datasets, different types of data and can be applied to theory-driven or data-driven analysis (Braun and Clarke 2013).

Throughout this process, the emerging relationships between the data were recognised and used to develop overall conclusion relating to the theme and research objectives. Thematic analysis is known to be used in situations where there is a lack of previous research in the subject area, and, therefore, code categories are derived straight from the text data itself (Joffe 2012). From the codes created, themes were identified. Vaismoradi et al. (2013) state that a visual representation of thematic analysis, or thematic map, is a common characteristic when utilising this approach for data analysis. To provide a visual representation of how the emergent themes were developed from the coding process of this research project, Attride-Stirling's (2001) Framework Approach was followed (See Figure 6), allowing the author to refine and organise main themes and connected or sub themes. While alternative frameworks were considered (for example, Aronson 1995; Ritchie and Spencer 2002; Braun and Clarke 2006), Attride-Stirling's (2001) approach was deemed most

appropriate for this project due to the emphasis on interpreting patterns; thus, the relationships and links are able to emerge through the coding and analysis process.

Figure 6 Themes adapted from Attride-Stirling's approach 2001



Attride-Stirling's (2001 p. 390) key steps:

- Code the material: devise a framework, dissect text according to the framework
- Identify theme: abstract and refine themes
- Construct the networks: arrange themes, select basic themes, rearrange, deduce, illustrate, verify and refine
- Describe and explore the thematic network: describe and explore the network
- Summarise the thematic networks
- Interpret pattern, design models

The key stages provide an efficient procedure for conducting an analysis. This process allows the coding themes to emerge from the raw data and enables constant comparison to help raise the data analysis to a conceptual level. Furthermore, it allowed the author to work to a methodically system facilitating transparency of reasoning at each stage of the analytic process while aiding with the presentation and allowing an insightful and rich examination of the textual patterns (Attride-

Stirling 2001). The use of organising themes identified and named the main relationships emerging from the data, and this allowed the connections created to become sub or basic themes. The collected data is scrutinised for information concerning the overall project objectives to form classifications that become the themes used in the structure of this thesis

4.5 Ethical consideration and reflection

Queen Margaret University's ethical approval process was followed and completed; the research paradigm was found to have no risks for the participants. Ritchie and Lewis (2003, p. 75) argue 'ethical issues also have to be considered, particularly what informed consent will require, arrangements for anonymity and confidentiality, and how participants and researchers can be protected from harm'. All participants were provided with an information sheet and consent form for their involvement (see appendix 1). The data collection methods in this study were deemed non-intrusive and promoted freedom of choice. Each of the participants willingly participated in the respective method in an environment they were conformable with and with the option to stop the process at any point.

Evaluating the validity of qualitative studies is often met with scepticism (Braun and Clarke 2013), and there are concerns about the rigour and credibility commonly associated with quantitative research projects (Vaismoradi et al. 2013). Qualitative data is considered non-numeric; information is systematically gained and presented in narrative form (Yin 2011). The overall purpose of qualitative research is to understand and discover feelings, values and experiences of a group of people with emphasis placed on process and meaning (Sale, Lohfeld and Brazil 2002; Kumar 2011). Therefore, a main limitation recognised is that qualitative data has been labelled as subjective or only exploratory (Denzin and Lincoln 2011). In this instance, the researcher, highlighting possible subjectivity through using this method, does not deny that not all interpretations are reliable (Newman and Benz 1998; Hill, Leitch and Harrison 2010). However, the research aims to ensure the findings are as valid and reliable as possible by using expert participants for the semi-structured interviews, and ensuring that the researcher's views or opinions were explicitly not expressed throughout the data collection to cause bias (Silvermann 2001; Johnson et al. 2007). Importantly, for the focus groups, the author acknowledged Breen's (2006, p. 473 - 474) recommendations of 'two good indicators of the reliability of your focus group data are (a) the extent to which participants agreed/disagreed on ... and (b) the frequency of participant opinion shift during the discussion'. The data collected with most agreement and least opinions

shifts was deemed most reliable and utilised throughout the analyses (Breen 2006). Ritchie and Lewis (2003, p. 271) discuss research reliability to include the concepts of 'confirmability', 'trustworthiness' and 'consistency' within qualitative studies. In order to provide reliable findings, this research followed recommendations of designing the sample without bias and based on the data required, the data collection was carried out consistently with the same questions asked and in a comfortable environment for the interviewee, and the analysis was carried out systematically allowing for equal opportunities for all perspectives (Ritchie and Lewis 2003).

4.6 Validity, reliability and trustworthiness

Hunter and Brewer (2003, p. 581) state that 'reliability emphasises the repeated use of a single measurement, while validity implies different measurements'. Therefore, reliability is understood as the notion of repeatability of the findings in data collected, while, from a qualitative perspective Golafshani (2003) argues validity is best understood by trustworthiness and rigor. Historically rooted in the positivist paradigm (Golafshani 2003), Sinkovics et al. (2008) argue that, while reliability, trustworthiness and validity are a vital element for quantitative researchers, for qualitative researchers these concepts are imprecise. With regard to a mixed-method approach, Sale et al. (2002) highlight that combining quantitative and qualitative methods allow questions of considerable importance to be answered. Similarly, Johnson et al. (2007) argue that mixed-methods provide the opportunity to respect both positivist and interpretivist philosophies whilst seeking practical solution for the research problem at hand.

Ritchie and Lewis (2003) suggest that one key trait of qualitative research is its flexibility and continuing process. However, that is not to say that validity and reliability cannot be gained within qualitative research methods. In order to provide a formalised analysis process and promote reliable research findings (Sinkovics et al. 2008), this research employed qualitative data analysis software NVivo for the data gathered from interviews, focus groups and within the survey. Furthermore, with regard to the quantitative element of this thesis, t-test were completed with a 95% confidence interval to ensure the findings were statically significant.

Mertens and Hesse-Biber (2012) and Ritchie and Lewis (2003) suggest that the notion of triangulation is commonly used with social science research as a method of validation in the reliability process of research results. Similarly, Johnson et al. (2007) introduce triangulation as a way to combine methodological approaches within one study and encourages the development of

creative data collection methods. Triangulation implies that the combination of multiple methods with allow research findings to be confirmed and collaborated (Ritchie et al. 2003; Decrop 2004; Venkatesh et al. 2013). Therefore, this study employs triangulation of mixed-methods to allow for a richer insight into the complex notion of social legacy, and increase trustworthiness of the research findings. The need to consider trustworthiness was a key element to demonstrate truth value in each of the qualitative research methods (Decrop 2004). Therefore, an importance was placed on gaining access and building rapport from the beginning with potential interviewees and community gatekeepers in order to create trusting relationships with potential focus groups participants. Furthermore, all qualitative research questions were kept the same for each method, respectively. Thus, all of the interviews were asked the same set of questions, and, while different to the interviewee's questions, all of the focus groups were asked the same set of questions. While there is an element of flexibility with qualitative data collection (Ritchie and Lewis 2003), the use of the same questions in each separate method ensured every interview and focus group was approached in the same manner.

Ensuring further research priorities are upheld, before to beginning any of the interviews or focus groups, the general purpose of the event was reiterated as well as the research project background and an estimation of the length of time to complete the process. All participants were made aware of their ability to stop the interview or leave the focus group at any point. The location and setting for the sessions was important to allow for the participants to be clearly heard and notes to be taken. All of the interviews and focus groups were recorded with a digital voice recorder, which was activated once each of the participants had given their permission to be recorded. After recording, each session was transcribed verbatim from the recording and notes taken. While referencing the overall research objectives to guarantee relevancy (Huberman and Miles 2002), the transcriptions were completed in a timely fashion to ensure a higher level of credibility and dependability (Bryman 2012). This also allowed time for possible follow-up visits to the participants on any elements raised for clarification, if needed.

4.7 Research limitations

Before concluding, it is important to highlight any research limitations. First, potential limitations of qualitative research methods are well documented. The researcher recognises the limitations in relation to participants including timely management interviews and focus groups and ensuring an amenable setting to ensure constructive data collection (Cameron et al. 1994). Due to this research

having no hypothesis to test at the start, the results are an interpretation, rather than a tested hypothesis arriving at certain generalisations or theoretical formulations (Kothari 2002). Moreover, personal drawbacks including managing large amounts of data, ensuring all responses are exhaustive and designing a well-formed interview protocol with bias declared (Cameron et al. 1994) are also acknowledged by the researcher. In addition, it is essential to highlight time constraints. This concerns the use of the participants' time to partake in interviews and focus groups needed, and elite level participants may not be available for any follow-up conversations. Also, for the researcher, a large amount of analysis was required; the interview process can be a demanding use of skills, and efficient and effective skills have been required for a thorough evaluation. However, providing the correct recognition is given to these possible restrictions and limitations, the challenging aspects have been managed accordingly.

Furthermore, with regard to potential methods for this research, it is essential to highlight alternative methods that could have been applied. First, a comparative study could have been conducted, whereby the researcher could contrast and measure the management style and implications of a similar event in order to investigate the management and implications of event regeneration. Moreover, questionnaires, instead of interviews, would be an option; however, to attain the level of information needed from targeted individuals, the questionnaires would still need to be purposively distributed, as random distribution would not be suitable sampling techniques. Overall, due to the importance of in-depth information, from elite level staff, the proposed research approach in this research remains apt to enable a comprehensive case study. Lastly, due the nature of this research, any longitudinal study is unachievable and therefore a follow-up study is suggested to gain a long-term holistic insight into the outcomes in the future.

4.8 Summary

Guided by the aims and objectives of this project, this chapter has outlined the reasoning behind the chosen inductive and interpretive case study research design. Billinge (1997) argues that an interpretivist research approach allows for the examination of differential experiences. The overall aim of this research is to evaluate whether a major event has the potential to create a meaningful social legacy; thus, the data collected emphasises the importance of lived experience and involvement. The methodology also reflects the intention to determine key insights in legacy planning and application in a local context first through in-depth interviews. This was followed by focus groups and an online survey, which explored the intended and unintended social impacts

across different stakeholders in order to establish potential routes to create social legacies. In order to provide a thorough analysis of social impacts, and, ultimately, the potential such impacts have to create a social legacy, the following objectives were employed:

Objective 1: to critically analyse the development and significance of event legacy with particular reference to social legacies

Objective 2: to examine the social impacts for individuals, communities and organisations from the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games

Objective 3: to examine potential pathways to create social legacies from identified social impacts

Objective 4: to establish best practice and present examples to provide valuable policy support for future host cities

The stakeholder perspectives needed to complete the above objectives are aligned with an interpretivist research approach that promotes that reality is socially created and constantly altering (Newman and Benz 1998; Sale et al. 2002). Furthermore, Ziakas and Boukas (2014) highlight that events present opportunities for individuals and communities to create meaning; therefore, an interpretivist philosophy allows for multiple opinions and descriptions to be considered (Jennings 2005).

Getz (2012) argues that mixed-methods is an emerging and useful approach when analysing event impacts allowing both quantitative and qualitative methods to be used where appropriate. This research promotes a mixed-method research approach in event management social research. Each method within this thesis is employed in an attempt to address the notable gap in social research surrounding event legacies (Smith 2012; Thomson et al. 2013; Halbwirth and Toohey 2013; Preuss 2015; Hartman and Zandberg 2015; Brown et al. 2015) and, more specifically, social legacies (see Cashman 2006; Sadd 2010; Minnaert 2012; McCartney et al. 2013; Misener et al. 2013; Rogerson 2016). First, the in-depth interviews were conducted with a diverse range of knowledgeable and experienced stakeholders connected to programmes or organisations involved in legacy creation of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. The interviewees also acted as ‘gatekeepers’ (Creswell et al. 2007) to gain access to community members by means of building trust. The relationships built in this way were extremely valuable and enabled five community focus groups to be completed. The final method used in this thesis was an online survey. Case et al. (2013) states an online survey can increase the survey responses. Due to the potential geographical reach of the

individuals who participated in volunteer programmes associated with the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games an online survey proved the more suitable method. The relationship between the mixed-methods in this research is key to providing a local context to legacy understanding and allowed an in-depth exploration of planned and unplanned social impacts exploring the notion of future social legacy creation. The importance of this research is accentuated by the complex nature of major event legacy and the lack of major event social legacy research. Specifically, this methodology allows for a research design that explores social impacts relating to individuals, communities, and the host city, and the potential routes these social impacts can become social legacies.

The following chapters present the analysis of this research, highlighting the social impacts, both intended and unintended, relating to individuals, communities and Glasgow as host city. The relevant social impacts emphasise the multifaceted nature of social research in event management and need for further research to explore impact's development into legacy. Informed by the literature review, the methodological approach employed enabled this research to demonstrate the acknowledgement of social legacy as a continual and developing process capturing both planned and unplanned impacts from various stakeholder perspectives. Thus, it is from exploring these social impacts the following analysis argues routes of social legacy creation that present potential for individuals, communities, and the host city.

5.0 Introduction to analysis

5.1 Context to the analysis

Event management research is multidisciplinary and draws from a number of areas, for example, tourism, urban studies, cultural studies, sociology, and geography (Deery et al. 2004; Weed 2005; Smith 2012). Reflecting on the emerging nature of event management research, the analysis chapters in this thesis build upon a thorough and multifaceted literature review (see Chapter 2 and 3) to provide a more holistic perspective on the concepts of legacy and, more specifically, social legacy. Green (2014) argues that conceptual or theoretical frameworks are often referred to within research but are rarely defined or have their applications explored. Therefore, the intention behind this introductory chapter is to provide context for the framework utilised in the analysis of this research. It also seeks to explore the benefits of applying this framework and any limitations. The aim of this research is to identify potential routes of social legacy creation from the social impacts reported concerning the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. Prior to identifying possible social legacy routes, the social impacts reported in this research are analysed. Research attempting to measure social impacts is rare due the difficulties in measuring socially focussed outcomes (Minnaert 2012; Pruess 2015). Thus, further grouping or categorisation of social impacts within event management is limited. A significant concern in this thesis was to provide research that can be further developed for future needs within both practice and academia; by employing a structure, it is argued that this research presents a heuristic stage and point of reference from which social impacts and social legacy creation can be better understood, developed, and implemented to inform best practice. It is argued that the use of a framework in this research helps to provide clarity and a structure (Green 2014); this is intensified when navigating the complex nature of both intended and unintended social impacts, and potential to create social legacies. A primary consideration behind employing an analysis framework is to provide an essential structure to the following analysis chapters to increase clarity when analysing social impacts and ultimately building an understanding of social legacy creation. Therefore, to provide a structure to the following analysis chapters, Minnaert's (2012) categories of impacts relating to individuals, impacts relating to communities and impacts relating to image, status and sense of place are employed.

Minnaert (2012) categorises soft or intangible impacts regarding event host cities into impacts relating to individuals, communities and on image, status and sense of place. Although Minnaert's (2012) research investigating the social impacts of socially excluded groups in relation to the

Olympic Games is argued to be a key piece of literature from the under-researched field specific to social impacts, it is important to acknowledge the differing research perspectives in this thesis and Minnaert's article (2012). First, this research is centred on the Commonwealth Games, a smaller major event compared to the Olympic Games, which is the focus in Minnaert's (2012) research. Considering the limited literature available on social impacts of major sporting events, this was not considered a limitation; rather, it provided a wider range of possible social impacts that could be narrowed in relation to the research aim of this thesis. Specifically, the variety of possible social impacts presented by Minnaert (2012) provided a useful framework for categorisation of the data collected in this research. This aided in identifying reported social impacts and, therefore, overall research themes. The use of Minnaert's (2012) framework also enabled each method employed to complement each other across the categories of individuals, communities and images, status and sense of place, and build a more holistic research perspective of the social impacts reported from various stakeholders involved in Glasgow's Games. Specifically, the individual category allowed analysis of the individual volunteering experience within Glasgow in addition to the individual expertise and experience examined in the in-depth interviews with key policy makers and legacy planners. Moreover, the community category is aligned with data collected from the local community focus groups, the volunteering community, and the community created to host the Games amongst key organisations and planners. Likewise, the category examining image, status, and sense of place provided the opportunity to examine potential social impacts on Glasgow as a host city from residents' perspectives, organisations related to the Games as well as volunteers involved in the various volunteering programmes. Therefore, despite the differences in original framework development, this research presents the opportunity to enhance legacy and social legacy understanding outwith the Olympic Games context and expand knowledge into smaller major events.

A further consideration when applying Minnaert's (2012) framework was the focus on socially excluded groups in her research. This research does not have such a focus; rather, this thesis concerns the wider understanding of legacy, narrowed to social legacy creation through social impact identification. While these research perspectives do differ in eventual intended research outcome, the extensive range of social impacts presented by Minnaert (2012) is not specific to socially excluded groups and can be understood and applied in different environments. Therefore, it is argued in this thesis that Minnaert's (2012) framework does not exclude application outwith the intended sample; rather, it can be applied in various research environments providing, in turn,

differing but equally valuable results from a range of perspectives. The ability to utilise a framework such as Minnaert's (2012) across different research agendas is recognised as a benefit within event management research considering social impacts due the limited research available to date. Thus, to overcome any potential limitations of employing this research framework, this research is solely concerned with the categorisation of social impacts presented and does not engage with Minnaert's (2012) ongoing discussion and analysis of socially excluded groups in the Olympic Games context. The categories provided in relation to individuals, communities and image, status and sense place are argued to be easily applied to the wider stakeholders involved in hosting a major sporting event such as the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games.

The categories of social impacts presented by Minnaert (2012) were deemed to transfer smoothly to the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games due to the socially focussed nature of the Games imperative employed in Glasgow. As a key element in the selection of this case study, the importance place in social impact by Glasgow is argued to further reinforce the need for a framework that is socially directed. Minnaert's (2012) article is dedicated to examining social impacts from various stakeholder perspectives; thus, it aligned with the objectives and overall aim of this thesis. Furthermore, the application of this framework as a structure and exploratory tool within a different research environment from its creation enables the development of new outcomes and, therefore, the creation of original knowledge and evidence of building upon existing theory to advance understanding of event management social legacy.

6.0 Discussion – Individual impacts

6.1 Introduction

Conceptualisations and definitions of legacy (Chapter 2) and the social legacy implications of major events (Chapter 3) have been examined at length to provide the backbone of this thesis and produce a framework from which the social impacts, and, therefore, the potential social legacy can be explored in relation to the hosting of a major sporting event. This chapter begins the discussion into whether a major event can create a social legacy structure by Minnaert's (2012) first category of individual impacts which includes potential social impacts upon health, mental health, wellbeing and social capital. In addition, this chapter references McCartney et al.'s (2013) proposed volunteering critical pathway, generated to highlight a potential route of developing health, wellbeing and social impacts from hosting a Games, as a means of comparison towards establishing a wider social legacy.

The chapter is divided into emerging themes from the literature collected (Chapters 2 and 3) combined with the data collected from the interviews, focus groups and survey results. While each data collection method has informed this chapter, due to the focus of this section on individual experiences, this proceeding chapter is predominantly informed by the survey responses supported by interview data. By targeting a group of volunteers on an individual level, regardless of location or volunteer programme, the participants completed the Warwick Edinburgh Mental Health Wellbeing Scale (WEMWBS) in an attempt to determine whether being involved in the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games had a perceived impact at a personal level. The focus on health, wellbeing and social impacts is derived from McCartney et al.'s (2013) recommended critical pathways for generating a positive legacy. The authors highlight volunteering, increased pride and sense of identity and improved environment as factors towards social legacies. With regard to this research specifically, the potential to create direct impacts such as increased wellbeing, skills, future volunteer intentions and social impacts are the focus from the individual's perspective, as suggested by Minnaert (2012).

Therefore, this chapter is structured by themes. First, this chapter discusses the background of health implications, both mental and physical, from hosting a major event. Second, the impact upon increased skills for individuals is considered in relation to creating a sustainable social legacy, including employment and future volunteering opportunities. Finally, the concept of social capital

is examined with regard to the impact a major sporting may have on strengthening communication and networks.

Key finding: This chapter highlights the potential to create a social legacy for individuals from Games related volunteer programmes and network creation. The analysis of health, wellbeing and social elements relating to individuals propose there is potential to produce an increase in perceived individual wellbeing from Games volunteering. In addition, this chapter highlights a potential individual social capital increase through new relationships and increased networks.

6.2 Health impacts

As previous discussed (see Chapter 3), this thesis does not primarily focus on sports participation or physical health legacy of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. However, the potential broader individual benefits from sport events participation, as suggested by Minnaert (2012), draw on areas of interest to this research such as skills, mental wellbeing, social capital, citizenship and increased pride (Smith and Fox 2007; McCartney et al. 2013; Preuss 2014). Therefore, this following section examines the theme of health impacts from a major event and the potential to create a social legacy with a focus on planning and governance for positive health outcomes.

Upon winning the bid to host the 2014 Commonwealth Games in 2007, Glasgow City Council produced a detailed Health Impact Assessment (HIA) report (2008). Guided by the World Health Organisation's definition of health as 'a state of complete physical, mental and social wellbeing and not merely the absence of disease or ill health' (Glasgow City Council 2008, p. 4), Glasgow City Council's HIA was designed to recognise how a plan or event could affect the health and wellbeing of the locale and nation. A range of recommendations for partners and communities were produced aiming to enable positive impacts to be maximised and negative outcomes to mitigated or minimised. The forward planning approach Glasgow implemented for a successful planned legacy and detailed HIA is highlighted by the interview data collected from a social research organisation (2015):

'We worked together with Glasgow City Council and the health board to do a health impact assessment of the Commonwealth Games, basically looks at the potential positive health impacts and the potential negative health impacts of holding a mega event like that. We published a report and continued to work with the City Council legacy's team to ensure its recommendations, well over a 100, got implemented into the legacy strategy and then taken forward and actually implemented into the legacy plan' (IP8).

The interviewee has 10 years' experience in examining how health can be incorporated in its broadest sense for city improvement strategies, 'taking the social product of health into the special planning system', and further described their role as:

'I worked doing a health impact assessment on the East End local development strategy which set out the guidance for all that has happens in the East End, all the work Clyde Gateway have done out there, all the work the Games have done has been a catalyst for there, and there some really ground-breaking work that has been taken forward as result of that, not only in Glasgow but also throughout the nation' (IP8).

Here, much like the literature already published on the Games in Glasgow (see Christie and Gibb 2015; Jones and Yates 2015; Scottish Government 2015; Clark and Kearns; Rogerson 2016), there is a perception that the considered approach Glasgow has taken as a host city has developed the area event legacy on a number of levels. The importance of having a meaningful and thorough HIA for Glasgow is mirrored in the interview data collected from a local authority, which states:

'In November 2007, early 2008 we carried out a health impact assessment and we got 3,000 Glaswegians to response to that either by filling in forms online or part of focus groups or filling in forms on hard copy, to tell us what they wanted to see, what they wanted the legacy to be. So from that consultation exercise we when developed the legacy plan and we revised that in 2010, I think or 2011, and I had to create the document called beyond 2014, which has the 6 legacy strands in it and how we are going to roll them out and who's going to be responsible and so on' (IP1).

Similarly, interview data from local residents and a social research organisation applaud the planning approach implemented in Glasgow amongst the Glasgow City Council and its partners, with agreement from a voluntary sector organisation (2015):

'Another strength I would say is the interest from the government is ensuring there was a proper measuring framework for what legacy would be, that has been really excellent. So there was very thorough work done on what evidence of legacy had there been in other places and that fitted into the programme for Government around welfare and healthier, smarter, so it was good alignment with that and there's been a lot of notable successes that have already happened' (IP2).

Again, the above demonstrates developed learning within major event hosting and legacy understanding. The interview data collected regarding health benefits and major events describes a movement toward bridging the gap in attaining a lasting impact from hosting a major sporting event. Current research, or the lack thereof (see Minnaert 2012; Frawley et al. 2013; Weed 2014; Clark and Kearns 2015), promotes the need for detailed and integrated health strategies for cities hosting major events to fill the gap in this area of event legacy research. Interview data from a social research organisation provided agreement of the need for more research, highlighting that

‘when GCPH did the HIA and looked at the literature there is very little evidence whatsoever that states [the Games] is going to have much impacts on the longer term’. However, the interviewee data from a social research organisation proposes that despite there being lack of evidence ‘that doesn’t mean it doesn’t happen, it just means there’s no evidence for it’. This data emphasises the early stages legacy research, specifically health impacts at this point, currently finds itself. It also highlights the potential host cities have at making a meaningful contribution to industry and academic fields, respectively. A social research organisation employee recognises the innovative approach Glasgow employed from winning the bid and presents a positive reflection of the process and future implications:

‘I think for Glasgow, what’s different is there has been a concerted effort as a result of those findings coming out very early. Glasgow City Council and Scottish Government both saying, they didn’t like what they heard but they took steps to try and ensure there would be some sort of lasting impact on the resident in Glasgow and Scotland and that’s still ongoing, there was a legacy team that was formed, they were very proactive in ensuring people were talking about it, per say, aligning it with different things like within school etc. etc. There’s a possibility, it will definitely have an impact upon people in Glasgow’ (IP8).

Here, there is a clear emphasis on changing the future of Glasgow, and, thus, changing the way in which major events approach sustainable event legacy. The discussion so far has displayed an innovative approach to planning for wider health benefits. As discussed in the literature review, ‘governments, event organisers and sport professionals have long suggested that it is self-evident that sports mega-events inspire others to take part in sport’ (Weed 2014, p. 41). However, there is little robust literature that supports any connection between positive health outcomes and multi sports events (Minnaert 2012; Clark and Kearns 2015). Owen (2012) and Paton et al. (2012) propose possible reasons for a lack of results by highlighting that when increased physical activity agendas are focused in poorer communities, community members often do not have disposable funds to engage with new facilities or programmes. In contrast, Weed (2014) argues the lack of research in this area stems from a lack of research investment from governing bodies thoroughly examining physical activity impact. While research in this area is at a very early stage, the data in this thesis presents an educated approach from Glasgow, aligned with the Legacy 2014 (2009, 2014, 2015) literature reviews, taking in consideration the lack of previous research and applying the issues of engagement and physical health legacies to research investment (GoWell, GCPH) and community initiatives (Clyde Gateway, Volunteer Scotland). Nevertheless, the time implications of legacy plans and delivery remain a central issue that require holistic research to examine the actual long-term intangible, tangible, positive and negative impacts beyond direct pre- and post-

Games analysis. Still, the data suggests early movements towards an integrated legacy plan showing promising advances for academia, industry and future host cities. Thoughtfully, the planning element is set out in an interview carried out with a voluntary sector organisation employee as:

‘I think there is enough traction and substance to the thinking and planning that we will see a legacy through unlike any other, I think’ (IP2).

Hence, this section argues that Glasgow as a host city developed a measured approach as a basis to encourage health benefits within the city. Minnaert (2012, p. 363) suggests the wider social implication of sport event participation can include ‘contribution to neighbourhood renewal and communities, improved learning amongst young people, opportunities for active citizenship and development of social capital, greater pride in the community’. Due to the nature of this research, the entire application of participation could not be studied; therefore, the number of volunteers involved in the Games were utilised to provide an individual perspective on the impact of the Games. While ‘no previous host nation has demonstrated a sustainable positive health impact as a result of a major sporting event’ (Glasgow City Council 2008, p. 11), the results discussed in this first section of this chapter present positive results to inform planning aspects of improving health benefits through Games participation. The following section discusses these results in detail regarding confidence, wellbeing, employment, skills and social capital impacts. While it is understood this sample does not represent the entire population, the findings present learning opportunities for future host cities when undertaking a major event.

6.3 Event volunteering

6.3.1 Wellbeing and confidence

Despite existing theoretical links between events volunteering and wellbeing (Pi et al. 2014), quality of life (Binder and Freytag 2012), employment and work production (Li 2015), Horne (2007) suggests research varies vastly in rigour and quality often being carried out prior to the event. Therefore, while the emerging dialogue on maximising the potential positive legacies has stimulated a more cohesive approach to assessing said impacts, currently there has been inadequate measurement of post-event outputs as well as inputs, particularly social or ‘softer’ impacts, which are arguably more difficult to measure (Horne 2007; Swart et al. 2011). McCartney et al. (2013)

suggest that improved health and wellbeing is seen as an outcome of improved housing, transport and regeneration. However, Pawlowski et al. (2014) question the possible impact sporting events can have on wellbeing. Similarly, Rogerson (2016) highlights the lack of assessable outcomes present uncertainty as to whether major events initiatives and regeneration can have a sustainable positive benefits or impacts. While this chapter focusses on individual impacts of the Commonwealth Games, Chapter 7 provides results concerning the perceived social impact in Glasgow from a community perspective.

In order to provide a new perspective concerning wellbeing improvements and the hosting of major events, this study aimed to look at the impact of being involved with a major event and its effect on wellbeing at an individual level. The representative demographic from the data collected (n = 229) in this study contained: 59% Clydesider volunteers, 16% Frontrunners, 10% Ceremonies Cast Members, 7% Host City Volunteers, 4% Queens Baton Relay and 5% stating other to include team assistants and casting support; 75% female, 24% male, <1% transgender and prefer not to say; 8% 16 – 24 year old, 23% 25 – 44 year old, 60% 45 – 64 year old and 9% 65 years old and over; 49% employed/self-employed, 28% retired, 9% student, 7% volunteer, 4% unemployed and 3% job-seeking. The results presented below were selected to the form the following discussion based on their applicability to relevant literature and ability to answer the overall research question.

McCartney et al. (2013) proposed volunteering as a critical pathway for generating a positive Games legacy. They suggest that by providing volunteering opportunities as a key ingredient for change, potential direct impacts include increased future volunteering, increased skills and health, wellbeing and social impacts. The premise behind compiling self-reported survey data for this research was to gain access to a broad and varied sample and provide insight into the reach of potential social legacy on a personal level. To analyse the wellbeing element of Games legacy, the WEMWBS provides an average self-reported wellbeing score (scoring valued from 1 – 5, minimum 14 and maximum 70 total) with a 95% confidence interval. From the data collected in this research before the Games provided a mean score of 52 (51.6); this is representative of the average population score of 51 (Stewart-Brown and Janmohamed 2008). Therefore, it provides a reliable base line assessing self-reported wellbeing levels. The mean score when the participants were asked to consider their wellbeing level post-Games has increased by 5 points to 57 (56.7); hence, the data in this study suggest a significant increase on the population average in wellbeing levels from participating in a Games volunteer programme. Additionally, the increase in perceived

wellbeing level post-Games is further confirmed by a more stable standard deviation result. The post-Games value of 8.1 standard deviation informs the analysis of a standard range (+/- 8.1) either side of the average wellbeing score. Therefore, the participants were more similar and sure of an increase in wellbeing when reporting their feelings and thoughts post-Games, compared to pre-Games standard deviation of 9.3 +/- range below or above the average score which suggests a slightly more uncertain feeling surround their perceived wellbeing.

The table below provides data regarding the presented results (Table 15). This is consistent with suggestions made by McCartney et al. (2013) that volunteering opportunities have the potential to encourage wellbeing improvements; this data demonstrates encouraging results from Glasgow's volunteer programmes.

Table 15 Survey data representing 'before' and 'after' wellbeing results

	Before	After
Average	51.6531532	56.7612613
Standard Dev	9.38090213	8.10796682
Sample Size	222	222
Confidence	1.23	1.06655576
Margin of Error	0.77441406	0.58038883
Upper Bound	52.4275672	57.3416501
Lower Bound	50.4231532	56.1808724
Max	70	70
Min	14	14
Range	56	56

From the WEMWBS user guide, Stewart-Brown and Janmohamed (2008) suggest when examining before and after feelings, further statistical analysis should be employed. Therefore, the analysis in thesis adopted established practice from the literature. When analysed using paired-samples t-test through SPSS, the overall basic results demonstrated each element of the WEMWBS reported a strongly significant improvement in overall self-reported wellbeing; $P < .005$. The following section details the analysis conducted for each wellbeing indicator. Paired-samples t-tests were conducted to compare each before and after thoughts and feelings, as suggested by Stewart-Brown and Janmohamed (2008) in their WEMWBS guide to assess the likeliness of the results happening

by chance. The table below (Table 16) includes each element and the corresponding data analysis results.

There was a significant difference in the scores for reported for all before and after. The table below (Table 16) details the paired-sample t-test for each element including the statistical data of each mean (M), standard deviation (SD), total sample (t) and significance indicator (p). Importantly, the statically significance is interpreted due to the 'p' value being less than 0.05 in each of the wellbeing indicators. Furthermore, a 'p' value of less than 0.05 is also small enough to justify the rejection of an insignificant hypothesis (Higgins and Green 2011).

Table 16 T-test analysis WEMWBS results

Thoughts and feelings	T-test analysis results
Optimism	Before the Games ($M = 3.68$, $SD = 0.873$) and after ($M = 3.97$, $SD = 0.766$); $t(221) = -5.825$, $p < .001$
Feeling useful	Before the Games ($M = 3.68$, $SD = 0.837$) and after ($M = 4.12$, $SD = 0.636$); $t(220) = -8.747$, $p < .001$
Feeling relaxed	Before the Games ($M = 3.44$, $SD = 0.763$) and after ($M = 3.83$, $SD = 0.748$); $t(221) = -7.943$, $p < .001$
Interested in other people	Before the Games ($M = 3.97$, $SD = 0.826$) and after ($M = 4.27$, $SD = 0.664$); $t(221) = -6.385$, $p < .001$
Having energy to spare	Before the Games ($M = 3.45$, $SD = 0.833$) and after ($M = 3.82$, $SD = 0.788$); $t(220) = -7.053$, $p < .001$
Dealing with problems well	Before the Games ($M = 3.62$, $SD = 0.859$) and after ($M = 4.00$, $SD = 0.709$); $t(219) = -8.212$, $p < .001$
Thinking clearly	Before the Games ($M = 3.78$, $SD = 0.791$) and after ($M = 4.01$, $SD = 0.724$); $t(221) = -5.056$, $p < .001$
Feeling good about myself	Before the Games ($M = 3.60$, $SD = 0.859$) and after ($M = 4.08$, $SD = 0.685$); $t(221) = -9.212$, $p < .001$
Feeling close to other people	Before the Games ($M = 3.58$, $SD = 0.841$) and after ($M = 4.02$, $SD = 0.716$); $t(220) = -9.136$, $p < .001$
Confidence	Before the Games ($M = 3.58$, $SD = 0.909$) and after ($M = 4.10$, $SD = 0.680$); $t(220) = -9.395$, $p < .001$

Able to make up my own mind	Before the Games ($M = 3.96, SD = 0.822$) and after ($M = 4.23, SD = 0.698$); $t(220) = -6.320, p < .001$
Feeling loved	Before the Games ($M = 3.66, SD = 0.924$) and after ($M = 3.97, SD = 0.788$); $t(219) = -6.622, p < .001$
Interested in new things	Before the Games ($M = 3.89, SD = 0.872$) and after ($M = 4.62, SD = 0.677$); $t(220) = -6.828, p < .001$
Feeling cheerful	Before the Games ($M = 3.79, SD = 0.812$) and after ($M = 4.10, SD = 0.661$); $t(219) = -6.622, p < .001$

By splitting the data into the age groups, using the categories in the online survey (16-19, 20-24, 25-34, 35-44, 45-54, 55-64, 65 +), the specific wellbeing results can be seen to differ in each age category. The age groups were specified by the Scottish Government's (2007) definition of adult age as 16 and aligned with Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games welcoming applications from aged 16 and over (Glasgow 2014 2012). Furthermore, the WEMWBS is validated to be used from aged 16 and above (Stewart-Brown and Janmohamed 2008). Firstly, participants aged 16 – 19 only reported significant wellbeing increases in four of the fourteen indicators (29%). The areas that did significantly improve for this age group were optimism (before the Games $M = 3.40, SD = 1.140$, after $M = 4.40, SD = 0.58$; $t(4) = -3.162, p = 0.034$), interested in other people (before the Games $M = 3.20, SD = 1.304$, after $M = 4.00, SD = 1.000$; $t(4) = -4.000, p = 0.016$), feeling good about myself (before the Games $M = 3.20, SD = 1.095$, after $M = 4.00, SD = 0.707$; $t(4) = -4.000, p = 0.016$), and confidence (before the Games $M = 3.00, SD = 1.225$, after $M = 4.00, SD = 0.707$, $t(4) = -3.162, p = 0.034$). Interestingly, this age group of 16 – 19 year olds reported the least impact in wellbeing improvement post-Games. This is perhaps due to the small sample gathered. In the next age category (20 – 24), a greater wellbeing impact was reported post-Games. From the paired sample t-tests, 50% of wellbeing indicators presented a significant increase including: feeling useful, interested in other people, dealing with problems well, feeling close to other people, confident, able to make up my own mind, and cheerful. With regard to the next age group (25 – 34), an increased wellbeing impact was reported after the Games compared to the youngest participants, but slightly less of an impact than 20 – 24. Five out of the 14 wellbeing indicators reported a significant increased post-Games (36%), these included: feeling useful, interested in other people, feeling good about myself, feeling close to other people, and confidence. Participants aged 35 – 44 reported a significant improvement in twelve out of a possible 14 wellbeing indicators after the Games (86%), only optimism and having energy to spare did not display a significant

improvement. Respondents from the age group of 45 – 54, interestingly, reported a strongly significant improvement in all of the wellbeing indicators, therefore presenting a 100% increase in overall wellbeing after participating in a Games volunteer programme. While slightly lower, participants aged 55 – 64 reported an improvement in 13 of the 14 wellbeing indicators (93%). The only element not reporting a significant improvement was interested in other people. Lastly, participants ages 65 + reported an overall positive improvement with 10 of the 14 wellbeing indicators displaying a significant improvement post-Games (71%).

There is limited research concerning volunteer legacy (Downward and Ralston 2006; Nichols and Ralston 2012); therefore, this research presents an area for further research aligned with wider volunteering and wellbeing research (Borgonovi, 2008; Secker et al. 2011; Binder and Freytag 2012; Smith et al. 2014). Lockstone-Binney et al. (2016) state the research since the Sydney 2000 Olympic and Paralympic Games has highlighted the emergence of wider volunteer legacies. It is suggested by the findings in this research that wellbeing improvements from volunteering at a one off event present potential to create a social legacy similar to recognised volunteering benefits from longer-term volunteer commitment (Borgonovi 2008; Secker et al. 2011). The implications of such a notion highlight the emergence of a broader volunteer legacy to include additional themes on top of volunteer motivations and likelihood to continue to volunteer (Smith et al. 2014).

An interesting finding across all age groups is the significant increase in reported confidence after the Games. This finding supports previous links made between increased confidence and volunteer activity reported by authors such as Lee et al. (2014), Morrow-Howell et al. (2003) and Brown, Hoyer and Nicholson (2012). More specifically, the results from this study are in agreement with similar findings reported by Woodall et al. (2016) in their examination of volunteer impacts and the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. Woodall et al. (2016, p. 40; 49) state, ‘one common theme throughout the data was the way that participation at the Games had helped to build confidence’ ... ‘Some of the individual level outcomes, such as increased confidence and self-esteem, are in keeping with previous research on volunteering at a mega-sporting event. The feeling of euphoria from participating as a volunteer gave individuals an intense feeling of wellbeing during the Games’. This is reflected in the data collected in this study as each age group did report an increase in overall wellbeing at some level across each indicator. More specifically, when analysing the reported confidence level, confidence was the only wellbeing indicator that conclusively increased regardless of age. Thus, there are links between volunteering and increased

wellbeing impact. In addition to these findings, Woodall et al. (2016) report, many Clyde-sider volunteers have a new confidence and their Games experience has changed their outlook. Similarly, 80% of participants in this study reported a significant increase in confidence as well as an interest in trying new things. Although this early stage research may not be definite, this area of research presents many future study opportunities to explore the evident themes proposed by studies of Games time volunteering and increased in overall wellbeing impacts.

While there remains a lack of evidence to directly relate regeneration or sporting success to improved wellbeing of the host nation, an improvement within mental health, wellbeing and confidence for the population was an aspiration noted in the bid document submitted by Glasgow for the Commonwealth Games (Glasgow 2014 2005). The above data suggests the major event volunteer initiatives may be a pathway that requires further attention for future host nation wishing to enhance national wellbeing and in particularly confidence levels across all age groups of the population.

Quantitative data collected for this study from the online survey suggests volunteering may be where the biggest potential is concerning improved confidence and overall wellbeing. Links between volunteering and wellbeing are evident within the literature in a number of different areas, including promoting social inclusion and wellbeing through arts programmes (Secker et al. 2011), formal volunteering and self-reported health and happiness (Borgonovi, 2008) and the relationship between volunteering, wellbeing and public policy (Binder and Freytag 2012). The growth in research concerning voluntary work and wellbeing continues to develop. This is much like the growth in the emerging body of literature on legacy potential of major sporting events. The overlap within these academic fields with regard to large numbers of volunteers and potential legacy of such programmes provides a research opportunity yet to be fully studied (Downward and Ralston 2006; Nichols and Ralston 2012). This over-lapping area of study is where the current study's findings highlight an area for future legacy research.

The following section discusses the data collected from the online survey while split into non-volunteers and participants who have volunteered previously. In addition to results previously examined, the data collected for this study demonstrates further agreement with current literature that states there are links between volunteering and wellbeing (Morrow-Howell et al. 2003; Brown et al. 2012; Lee et al. 2014). This affirmation is clearly displayed in both groups (those who had

and those who had not volunteered before the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games). Table 17 shows that the group who had not volunteered before increased significantly post-Games with the majority of levels going up in the WEMWBS scale. Similarly, Table 18, shows those who had previous volunteer experience also increased post-Games; however, that group had a notably higher starting point with the vast majority of the starting levels being similar to the first group's post-Games reported levels. This is consistent with previous studies (Borgonovi 2008). It should be noted that the second group, Table 18, were also the majority of the sample (n= 169, 74%), which also supports Borgonovi's (2008) statement that claims individuals with higher wellbeing levels are more likely to participate in volunteering.

Table 17 Responses from non-volunteers

Feelings and thoughts	Before	%	After	%
Optimistic about the future	Some of the time	45	Often	49
Useful	Some of the time	40	Often	61
Relaxed	Some of the time	52	Often	43
Interested in other people	Some of the time	37	Often	56
Energy to spare	Some of the time	36	Often	48
Dealing with problems well	Some of the time	36	Often	48
Thinking clearly	Some of the time	42	Often	47
Feeling good about myself	Some of the time	35	Often	56
Close to other people	Some of the time	38	Often	49
Confident	Some of the time	31	Often	50
Able to make up my own mind	Often	37	Often	49
Loved	Some of the time	35	Often	43
Interested in new things	Often	31	Often	55
Cheerful	Some of the time	36	Often	63

Table 18 Responses from previous volunteers

Feelings and thoughts	Before	%	After	%
Optimistic about the future	Often	50	Often	58
Useful	Often	47	Often	64
Relaxed	Some of the time	43	Often	54
Interested in other people	Often	48	Often	51
Energy to spare	Often	43	Often	54
Dealing with problems well	Often	44	Often	62
Thinking clearly	Often	52	Often	60
Feeling good about myself	Often	47	Often	63
Close to other people	Often	47	Often	57
Confident	Often	43	Often	61

Able to make up my own mind	Often	53	Often	53
Loved	Often	40	Often	51
Interested in new things	Often	49	Often	53
Cheerful	Often	47	Often	60

In addition, findings from this research are consistent with Binder and Freyteg's (2012) findings suggesting increased level of wellbeing in people who participate in regular voluntary activity. Smith (2012, p. 154) agrees with this to some extent stating that volunteer programmes can help in linking events to community objectives, inspiring people to have a more active role in their community and create heighten civic pride. Hence, the need for wider research concerning a volunteer legacy is paramount to discovering the impacts for the thousands of major event volunteers involved beyond their motivations and future volunteer ambitions. The impetus for individuals to successfully engage in a community lies within the individual (Smith 2012). The data in this study highlights that a higher level of engagement in the voluntary community does result in a higher reported level of wellbeing, including confidence, usefulness, feeling good and optimism.

In agreement with the data from the survey, interviews carried out with Games-time volunteers confirmed these findings of increased confidence:

‘The confidence it [volunteering] gives you and the pride. I mean I’ve always being confident but I’ve been a plodder for about 20 years and I’m really angry at myself but I would have been angry when I was 70 if I hadn’t of done it but now at 56 I’m going to grab every opportunity because I’m not wasting another 20 years’ (IP10).

Also, from another interview carried out with a Games-time volunteer:

‘[Volunteering] it gave me confidence that I could do something apart from nursing, it was a whole new world’ (IP12).

These findings suggest that wellbeing does increase and a one-off large event volunteer experience does have an impact on reported wellbeing levels, including confidence, optimism and usefulness. Furthermore, results from this study demonstrate that having previous volunteer experience does have an impact upon wellbeing levels since a person who had no previous volunteer experience reported a lower starting level of wellbeing. This study is consistent with Brown et al.'s (2012) findings in proposing that an increase in wellbeing did not show a direct correlation with the amount of time spent volunteering. However, regarding a formal volunteer commitment, this is contradictory to Borgonovi's (2008) findings that demonstrate an increase in frequency of

volunteering did increase the level of reported wellbeing. Therefore, it can be suggested that volunteering at a major event does differ in experience than a formal volunteer commitment; however, both volunteering type present opportunities to enhance individual's wellbeing with event volunteer suggesting wellbeing improvements from a shorted involvement. The difference may originate from the different circumstances for the studies being completed.

In addition to examining self-reported wellbeing impact after the Games, the survey participants were asked to predict how long they expected the feeling of wellbeing improvements (if any) would last. Overall, concerning the entire sample, the majority of responses predicted their wellbeing impacts to last years (32%). When only considering respondents who had previously volunteered, the consensus was less sure with 35% of participants reporting they were 'unsure' how long these changes would last. With that being said, 29% and 27% of previous volunteers did report expecting these improvements to last 'years' or 'longer', respectively. Analysis of the participants who were first time volunteers displayed a different picture. From these results, the majority of first volunteers expected their wellbeing changes to last years (36%), closely followed by 'longer' (35%). Interestingly, this group reported much less uncertainty in their expectations with only 22% of responses selecting 'unsure' how long these changes would last. This is perhaps an expected finding due to the research substantiating the links between volunteer activity and increased wellbeing (Morrow-Howell et al. 2003; Brown et al. 2012; Jones and Yates 2015; Lui 2015) and the higher levels of reported wellbeing within previous volunteers from this study. Moreover, the potential wellbeing legacy impact proposed in this study further emphasises the need for more long-term focus research in this area of Games volunteering legacy.

6.3.2 Personal development

While volunteering can be said to have an impact upon participant's health, it also has strong ties both within the literature and practice with regard to building new skills and helping into employment. The following section examine multiple aspects of personal development from volunteering, focusing on future volunteer intentions, the impact of volunteering on individual lives, developing new skills and social opportunities. Commonly included with wider legacy ambitions, employment and skill building opportunities are becoming regular practice within legacy planning and major events (Kaplanidou 2012; McCartney et al. 2013; Tsaur et al. 2015). Glasgow as a host city made this aspiration clear in their 2007 HIA document stating:

‘The Glasgow 2014 organisers are working towards a positive economic impact as a result of hosting the Games. In addition, it is hoped the Games will leave a legacy of:

- New skills and other educational benefits
- More jobs for local people and
- Opportunities for self-development through volunteering for the Games and future sports events

The Candidate City File states that the Glasgow 2014 Games will also promote short term economic development by increasing tourism, through improved awareness and perceptions of Glasgow as a visitor destination’ (Glasgow City Council 2007, p. 64).

For the purpose of this research, due to the timeframe and vast number of opportunities, employment or educational benefits were not a primary concern; instead, this research aimed to determine the social impact from volunteering initiatives by focussing on skills gained and future development opportunities. This is aligned with McCartney et al.’s (2013) proposed pathway to creating a social and wellbeing impacts through volunteer opportunities from hosting a major event. Therefore, the survey participants were asked to consider how, if at all, being involved in a Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games volunteer programme would affect their future. Aligned with current volunteer research concerning the likelihood to re-volunteer in the future (Jones and Yates 2015) and motivations and satisfaction (McGillivray et al. 2013; Kristiansen 2015), the data from this survey states that 88% of the volunteers survey would volunteer again. Taking the responses from participants who would had not volunteered before this number increases to 91% of people who claim they will continue to volunteer in the future. The responses were similarly high for male and female, with 98% of women reporting their likelihood to volunteer again and 95% of men. The positive future volunteer intentions were also noted amongst the different volunteer initiatives when asked if they would consider a similar volunteer role in the future and can be seen in Table 19.

Table 19 Future volunteer intentions

Consider a similar role in the future	Yes (%)	Large/major events (%) Local/community events (%)
Frontrunners	97	53 44
Clydesider	98	53 44
Host City	100	56 44
Baton Bearers	100	55 46

Cast Members	94	54 40
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While the majority of participants reported wanting to continue volunteering in some capacity, with 100% of Host City Volunteers and Queens Baton Relay volunteers willing to consider a similar future role, further findings from the survey data reports highlights the likelihood of said continuation. Displayed in Table 20 below, over 85% in each group of participants from the representative volunteer initiatives when asked if they had volunteered since participating in the Games programme answered yes.

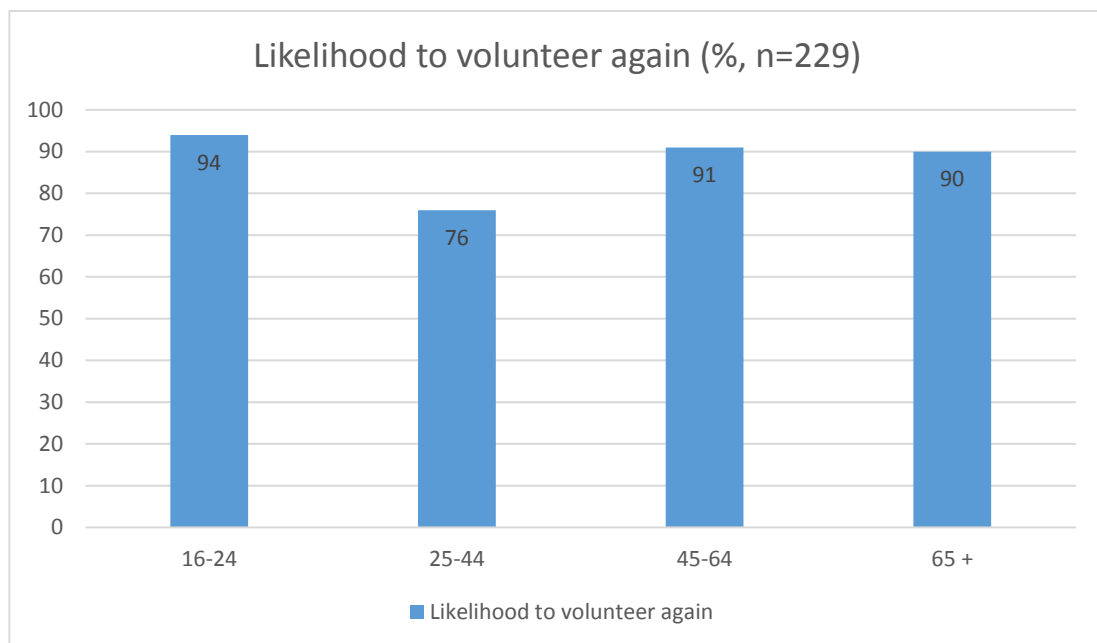
Table 20 Volunteered since the Games

Have volunteered since the Games	Yes (%)	Large/major events (%) Local/community events (%)	Not yet but I plan to (%)	No (%)
Frontrunners (n=48)	90	67 73	5	4
Clydesider (n=179)	85	54 61	11	3
Host City (n=22)	88	68 68	6	6
Baton Bearers (n=12)	95	75 83	0	5
Cast Members (n=30)	87	43 67	8	5

Therefore, while this was only completed within a one year time frame post-Games, it predicts promising results from the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games volunteer programmes. An independent-samples t-test was conducted to compare the reported satisfaction level and future volunteer intentions. Interestingly, when considering reported satisfaction of the Games, the data from this study report no significant relationship between reported satisfaction and the likelihood to continue to volunteer ($M=1.21$, $SD=0.598$) and no plans to continue to volunteer ($M=1.26$, $SD=0.701$); $t(220)=-.479$, $p = 0.632$. Therefore, despite perhaps not reporting a ‘very satisfied’ or ‘satisfied’ with the Games, this has had no significant impact upon the volunteer future volunteering intentions.

Furthermore, when considering the separate Games-time volunteer initiatives of the Clyde-siders and Host City Volunteers, both reported that an interest in volunteering was an impact from participating in the programmes (89% and 86% respectively). Similarly, with regard to the age of the volunteers, the majority of the age groups reported 90% and over when asked about their likelihood to continue volunteering (Graph 1 below). The only differing results, which were still high, were participant's ages of 25 – 44. Perhaps this is due to other commitments during those ages which have taken priority.

Graph 1 Likelihood to volunteer again



This is further emphasised through the qualitative answers provided by all volunteers when questioned to expand upon their future intentions and experiences. An interview with a social research organisation noted this possibility in their research and during an interview for this research, stating, ‘For some, it’ll actually increase their willingness to volunteer in the future for a variety of different things’. The reported increase in future volunteer intentions is a predominant theme from the survey data, as well as, other event volunteering literature concerning likelihood to re-volunteer, motivations and satisfaction (McGillivray et al. 2013; Kristiansen 2015; Jones and Yates 2015; Lui 2015). Table 21 below provides a number of the qualitative answers from the

survey data collected for this study supporting the participants future intentions and increased volunteering activity.

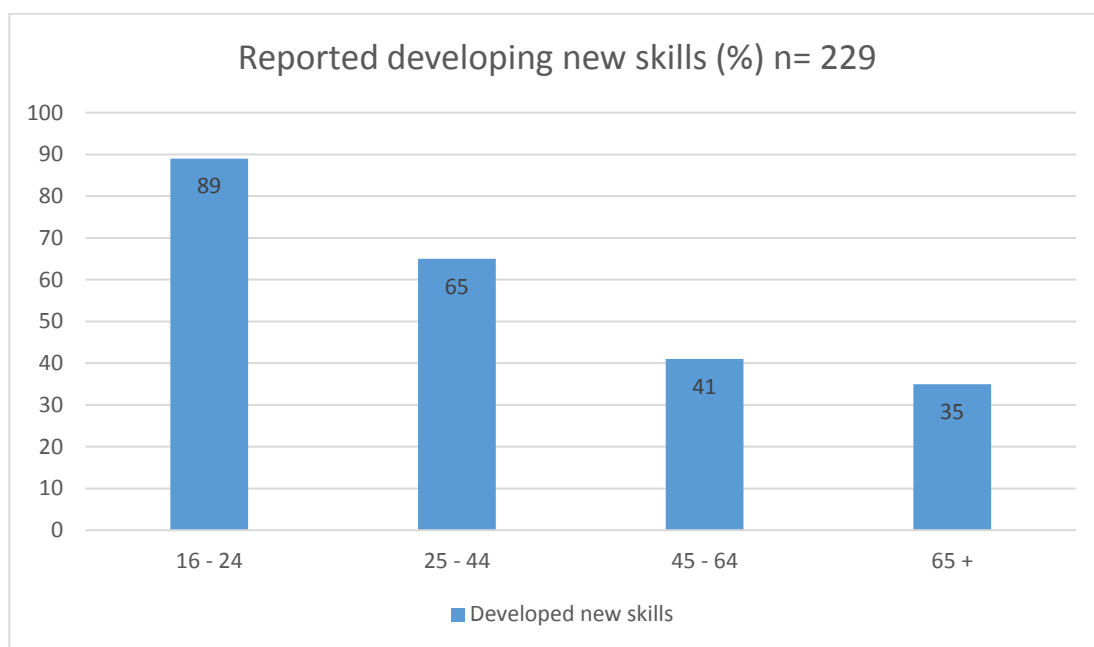
Table 21 Impact the Games has had on volunteers' lives

Volunteer	What impact will the Games have on your life? (Volunteer intentions responses)
4	I will continue to volunteer. Alongside some of the big sporting events still being attracted to the city I am also doing community based volunteering for instance I am now a mentor for Project Scotland, and will be helping out at Pride Scotland. In addition, it has given me additional skills to put on my CV
30	Changed my life, the opportunities it has opened up has given me a new lease of life. It continues!
44	No direct impact due to the games but have continued volunteering
16	It has opened up new opportunities in volunteering which I wouldn't have been able to do before
11	Planning on volunteering at more big events
125	Am still volunteering for other events
140	Always ready to volunteer again
56	Looking for more opportunities to volunteer, for the buzz
200	It has opened the door to other volunteering opportunities.
219	Continue volunteering !
180	Made me want to do more volunteering
111	Made me volunteer more at day/week events with different organisations and types of events.
75	More opportunities to get involved in similar experiences, met and became friends with many like minded people. Encouraged me to go for things and not hold back
140	It gave me the confidence to continue volunteering in all sorts of different fields.

When previously discussing volunteer programmes, it was noted that their role is often to offer training and employment experience aiming to provide volunteers with the environment to nurture new skills (Smith and Fox 2007), consequently providing a platform for individual and community development (Doherty 2009). Out for the volunteers surveyed for this thesis, 51% said they had gained new skills from their experience. Similarly, Jones and Yates (2015, p. 7) research reported, ‘most respondents indicated that they had been able to develop new skills as part of the Clyde-sider volunteering experience, even if only to a small extent. Transferable skills (e.g. communication, listening, teamwork and problem solving) were most commonly expressed through pre-determined response categories’; this confirms the conclusions drawn regarding volunteer programmes as

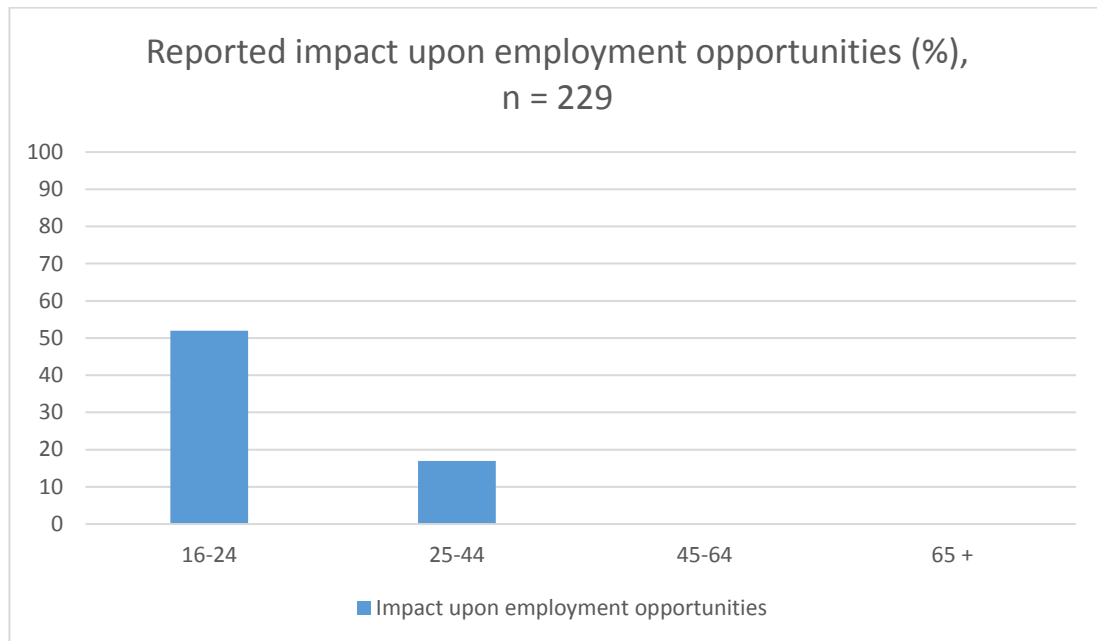
skills development opportunities for host cities (Jones and Yates 2015; Kristiansen et al. 2015). The GCPH report also states that skills development opportunities were particularly valuable to younger participants. These findings are mirrored in this research with 89% of under 25 year olds reporting the development of new skills. Using the same age ranges as used by GCPH for comparison, the findings from each age group are displayed in the graph (Graph 2) below.

Graph 2 Volunteer reporting developing new skills



Further to developing new skills, when asked if the Games have had an impact upon their employment opportunities, again, younger participants tend to have felt the largest impact (see Graph 3). It is perhaps due the early stage of their career and therefore need for a wider range of employment opportunities and additional networks to gain wider access to employment prospects.

Graph 3 Reported impact upon employment opportunities



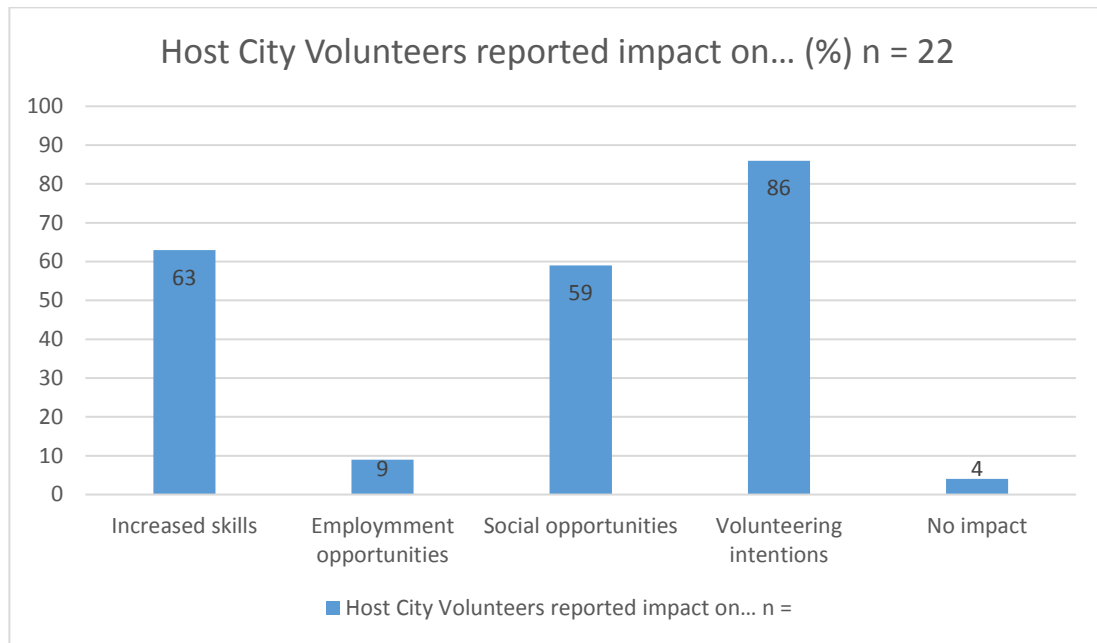
Previously discussed and evident within the data collected, Glasgow 2014 had a number of volunteer initiatives. Notably different was the Host City Volunteer (HCV) programme which was a targeted initiative run through Glasgow Life throughout Games-time in Glasgow. During a data collection interview, a public sector employee described the need for such an initiative:

‘It became apparent in terms of people who were applying for the Clydesider programme that there weren’t that many people applying from Glasgow that the Council and voluntary sector had perhaps anticipated, and also in terms of the profile of the volunteers applying from Glasgow we knew that there were particular groups that were under-represents, that included disabled, people from deprived areas so that kind of informed how we approached the actual programme’. (IP14)

Hence, the programme was design to target minority groups from Glasgow’s population to encourage some involvement in and engagement with the Games. By separating the results to view only HCV results, the overall positive impact was clearly evident. The graph (Graph 4) displays the reported percentages concerning the impact upon skills creation, employment opportunities, socialising outcomes and future volunteering intentions reported by the HCV. In addition to the demographics provided in the beginning of the chapter, the specific HCV representative sample consisted of n = 22, 86% female, 14% male, 5% 16 – 24 year old, 46% 25 – 44 year old, 45% 45

– 64 year old and 5% 65+ year old. The majority of this sample was employed (35%), with 26% unemployed, 17% retired, 9% students, 9% volunteers and 4% job seeking.

Graph 4 HCV reported impacts from volunteering



Here, the HCV reported the largest individual impact to be from increased volunteer intentions (86%), new social opportunities (59%) and an increased in skill (63%). Interestingly, the reported impact being a HCV would have on employment opportunities was relatively low (9%) considering this programme was aimed at minority groups included unemployed residents and job seekers, and only 36% of the respondents were currently in employment. However, these numbers may not be entirely representative due to the small number of HCV participants in this study. In addition to the individual impact felt, the overall satisfaction of the HCV programme was very high; 86% of HCV participants responded ‘very satisfied’ when questioned how satisfied they were with their overall experience. This data arguably requires a larger sample to provide corroboration; however, findings reported here are positive considering this is the first targeted Games volunteering programme.

A significant difference in this study and previous volunteering research concerns the sample of major event volunteers. Previous research (e.g. Morrow-Howell et al. 2003; Downward and Ralston 2006; Borgonovi 2008; Brown et al. 2012; Binder and Freytag 2012) does not examine

major event volunteers in relation to wellbeing levels; the focus within this field to-date has been on regular, formal or informal volunteers and smaller event volunteers. This study proposes that the links between increased wellbeing and volunteering are not solely to be seen within typical voluntary activity and have the potential to reach wider into one-time, major events volunteering experiences. Previously not available, the insights from this study demonstrate the overall positive results for major event volunteers from an innovative perspective concerning the impact participation can have upon an individual's wellbeing, including confidence, optimism, feelings about the future and happiness. Thus, in correlation with McCartney et al.'s (2013) proposed critical pathway to of volunteering as a means to increased social and wellbeing impacts from hosting a Games. Furthermore, this research also confirms previous studies regarding event volunteer's intention to continue to volunteer post-Games upon having a positive experience (Downward and Ralston 2006; MacLean and Hamm 2007; Bang et al. 2009; Doherty 2009; Pauline 2011). Considering the emerging importance of legacy within major event literature, these findings propose an original insight into wider major event volunteer programme's potential social impacts and legacies.

6.4 Social capital

This research has outlined the tendency within major event research to focus on economic or physical impacts (e.g. Bob and Swart 2010; Sadd 2010; Sherry, Karg and O'May 2011). Misener (2013) states that given the amount of capital spent on sporting events and the resulting infrastructure, this is perhaps unsurprising. As previously stated, social event impacts and legacies have gained wider recognition within the last few years (Doherty 2009; Sadd 2010; Minnaert 2012; Smith 2012). This new direction of research steps away from what Dickson et al. (2010, p. 286) describes as 'research into other areas, such as social legacies or the potential for the development of social capital through sport mega events, growth in sports participation or the generation of tourism after the event, has largely been ignored (Cashman, 2006; Chalip, 2006), as has long-term, post-event research'. The following section uses the concept of social capital to examine the potential social legacy at an individual level. Minnaert (2012, p. 363) states that events can promote opportunities to build individual social capital by developing networks and relationships, which also may have a strengthening impact upon communities. Similarly, Lui (2015) suggests events and volunteer opportunities can increase social capital through developing skills, individual

networks and increasing civic pride. The benefits from volunteering have been discussed in detail previously in this chapter, including social opportunities, confidence and wellbeing; therefore, the following section argues that the individuals involved in this research confirm a strongly likelihood of an increase in social capital through their involvement in Games-related volunteering initiatives.

The origins of social capital can be seen to have expanded from Bourdieu's (1986) elitist conceptualisation to encourage a more horizontal structure and community focussed notion where all relationships have social value (Coleman 1990; Putnam 2002; Shipway 2013). Individual impacts reported via the online survey used in this research highlight potential increases in social capital. Firstly, the findings regarding re-volunteering intention are wholly aligned with Downward and Ralston's (2006) preposition that the intention to continue volunteers equates to an increase social capital (Woodall et al. 2016). From the qualitative data collected, common themes identified when considering the impact of the Games upon the respondents future were volunteering, more opportunities that are new and friends. The findings in this research are consistent with Jones and Yates (2015) and with Woodall et al.'s (2016) research on the Glasgow 2014 Clyde-siders programme that propose that Games volunteering provided participant with a valuable opportunity to meet and build relationships with people from differing cultures and backgrounds.

Skinner et al. (2008) described links between social capital and increasing confidence and wellbeing, therefore building a sense of community within a group of individuals. The significant results from this study of increased overall wellbeing, including confidence, further suggest a strong potential increase in social capital amongst Games volunteers. This is illustrated concisely a word cloud (See Figure 7) along with a number of responses detailed below (see Table 22).

Figure 7 Word Cloud from volunteer survey answers



Table 22 Volunteer survey answers of Games impacts

Volunteer	What impact will the Games have your life?
10	I will continue to volunteer. Alongside some of the big sporting events still being attracted to the city I am also doing community based volunteering for instance I am now a mentor for Project Scotland, and will be helping out at Pride Scotland. In addition, it has given me additional skills to put on my CV
15	I found my best friend at G2014, and made other good friends too. G2014 has improved my life more than I ever imagined...
222	put me in contact with volunteering networks (not directly but through FB contacts I made during the games
150	Contact with people from different backgrounds from different parts of the world.
164	it helped me in my aim to build on my experiences volunteering and to meet people and come out of my shell
87	It increased my confidence and I met people who will remain in my life for a long time and became really good friends
32	It gave me a load of new friends from all walks of life. Has given me the confidence to pursue a new career path.
200	I have a host of new friends, have joined a social media site and volunteer even more often than I did before. I am ready to try out new sports and events and have so many opportunities to volunteer I have to be selective. It's a great way to spend my retirement, from small charity events to major sporting ones.
90	Another social group to enjoy meeting and sharing stories with
56	Now part of a group made up of ex clydesiders and host city volunteers, call Vamos 2014. We connect on facebook and volunteering opportunities are available almost daily. Between Vamos and Glasgow Life, I could be busy 7 days a week.
76	Have signed up for more volunteering. Made life long friends who have shared in this experience. Have many memories to pass on to kids etc. Possibly could use this experience to further my career.

The table of quotations above is by no means exhaustive. It represents common themes found through all the qualitative data. The excerpts in the above table further emphasise the increased confidence felt amongst volunteers as well as the recognition of volunteering opportunities available and their enthusiasm to continue to volunteer. Evident from the above extracts, the volunteers clearly found social value in the relationships created through Games volunteering initiatives. Aligned with Arcodia and Whitford's (2006) statement that the concept of social capital is consistently used to describe the benefits accrued by individuals through their membership of

social constructions, the multiple references to forming new friendships and becoming part of new social networks highlights the potential that volunteer programmes present in creating an increase of individual social capital.

Developed by Putnam (2002) from his definition of social capital, the categories of bridging and bonding social capital are a relatively recent addition to within event research (Miserner 2013; Woodall et al. 2016). Woodall et al. (2016) propose that the volunteers from Glasgow 2014 indicated the development of both bridging and bonding social capital as a results of improved social connections from different groups of people (bridging), and improved social people within individuals current social groups (bonding). The data collected in this study can be seen to fall into both categories. Overall, relationship and network building as a results of volunteering was a main theme from the data analysis. Table 20 above presents the importance and value attributed by the participants to Games volunteering in this research. Largely, participants reported new friends, skills and opportunities as key impacts upon the volunteer's lives. Through closer analysis of the qualitative answers, the data appear more applicable to bonding capital; reference to contact with diverse groups is less prevalent than general expansion of friendship circles and social opportunities. Again, this finding is consistent research from Jones and Yates (2015, p. 24) who reported:

Many survey respondents indicated that they hoped to experience social gains from participation. Being part of a team, meeting new people and making new friends were all recurrent responses. The wish to meet new people was expressed in terms of meeting like-minded and different people, as well as to meet people from around the world and to better understand other cultures.

The results from this study combine, as previously mentioned, a strong likelihood to continue volunteering (85%), with 55% of survey participants reporting that the Games will have an impact upon their future social opportunities. Hence, when considering an interest in future volunteering as a growth in social capital (Downward and Ralston 2006; Woodall et al. 2016), this study supports an increase in social capital amongst Glasgow 2014 volunteer programme participants. Furthermore, Downward in Ralston (2006) reported from the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games that female volunteers were most likely to yield the larger increase in social capital compared to male volunteers. This is reported to be due to females re-recording a more significant transformational effect on their future volunteering intentions. The findings from this research suggest agreement with Downward and Ralston's (2006) findings, reporting that when asked if they were likely to volunteer again, 98% of female volunteers responded 'yes' with slightly less of

male volunteers stating the same (95%). However, when asked if the participants had followed up on their intentions and continued to volunteer, 88% of male volunteers answered 'yes', with 54% of male participants now volunteering more. This is compared to 85% of female volunteers answering 'yes' regarding if they had continued to volunteer, and 48% of female volunteers now volunteering more. Since all answers recorded a high percentage of likelihood, it can be assumed that both male and female volunteers experienced a transformative affect reported by Downward in Ralston (2006) from the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games. The slight difference in results regarding if the volunteer now volunteered more may be down to 76% of female volunteers reported having previously volunteered compared to only 70% of males; therefore, it is likely male respondents would report a higher number when considering if they volunteered more post-Games.

These findings are consistent with the emerging research agenda concerning the links between volunteering and social capital (Edwards et al. 2010; Nichols and Ralston 2011; McGillivray et al. 2013; Misener 2013; Lui 2015). It is suggested that this should further encourage host cities to view social capital as an outcome of investment into volunteering programmes used to create sustainable connections and extended networks.

6.5 Summary

This chapter has analysed potential individual social legacy from the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. By highlighting the themes emerging from the data, this chapter allowed for the identification of individual impacts that have the potential to produce a social legacy. Furthermore, parallels can be drawn between McCartney et al.'s (2013) proposed volunteering pathway, employed to realise social impacts of skills development and increased volunteering, and the data from this research suggesting potential increases in social capital, wellbeing and personal development.

From the preceding discussion, it is clear that volunteering initiatives engender an increased level of self-reported wellbeing, skills increase and social opportunities. Furthermore, the data mirrored previous findings from Jones and Yates (2015) concerning the reported likelihood to continue to volunteer post-Games and, therefore, that an increase in future volunteering activities is likely. The data collected also confirmed previous research that suggests people who volunteer at sporting events place an importance on social connections and interactions (Kodama et al. 2013; Lee et al.

2016). Furthermore, this research highlights the importance placed on individual self-development through sport event volunteering and, as Downward and Ralston (2006) highlight, the need for organisers to recognise the ability sport event volunteering has to increase confidence, wellbeing and increase skills.

In addition, there is evidence to suggest an increase in social capital amongst Games volunteers. This is relative in both bridging and bonding types of social capital. Evidence of bridging capital is notable, as volunteers reported meeting many new people from differing circumstances. Furthermore, the data in this study further reports an increase in bridging social capital fostered within groups of people who would not normally socialise together; therefore, bridging gaps between different social groups through a common interest in major event volunteering. Bonding social capital is also notable from the data analysed in this research, perhaps more so than bridging. This is due to the bond created over volunteering experiences within similar social groups and, therefore, the connection created through shared experiences. Also, a smaller participant group reported the creation of social networks and relationships across more diverse social groups. Moreover, the data from this research suggests Minnaert's (2012) category of individual impacts presents a useful structure when undertaking an analysis of social impacts which are commonly cited as difficult to measure (Horne 2007; Swart et al. 2011; Minnaert 2012; Preuss 2015).

With regard to application, McCartney et al. (2013) produced pre-Games recommendations for Glasgow with the aim to secure a positive Games legacy. The section most related to this chapter has been highlighted in the table below (Table 23). By applying the findings to this table, it has allowed a clear examination of results considering the mixed legacy conceptualisations and typologies. This framework to assess the legacy from Glasgow usefully allows a strong result within the first column of 'opportunity of volunteering at the Games'. McCartney et al. (2013) suggest that by providing volunteering opportunities, the Games could secure direct legacies impacts of 'increased skills, increased future volunteering, and, health, wellbeing and social impacts'. The data from this research confirms McCartney et al.'s (2013) estimation and provides findings that should inform further research regarding social legacy creation.

Table 23 McCartney et al. (2013) highlighted individual impacts

Key ingredients for change	Critical pathway	Direct impacts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased tourism Increased exporting of good and services (trade) Investment in Games-related infrastructure The opportunity cost of investment in Games-related infrastructure 	Economic growth	Employment Income Equality Service provision
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provision of new sports facilities Inspiration (festival and demonstration effects) 	Increase sports participation	Increased physical activity and health
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Part of host city or nation 	Increased pride and sense of identity	Health, wellbeing and social impacts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Opportunity of volunteering at Games 	Volunteering	Increased skills Increased future volunteering Health, wellbeing and social impacts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New housing Improved urban design Regeneration Transport improvements 	Improved environment	Health, wellbeing and social impacts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Various potential impacts 	Legacy programmes	Various potential impacts

7.0 Discussion – Community impacts

7.1 Introduction

Having analysed individual impacts from volunteer participants, such as health, wellbeing, social capital, employment and volunteering intentions in relation to creating a social legacy from major sporting events, the following chapter provides further analysis of Games-related social legacy in the form of community impacts. When considering community impacts, Minnaert (2012) suggests examining the impact upon links and cooperation within a community, which is, aligned with Sadd's (2010) notion of community encompassing linkages and a communal interest, association or attachment within a group of people. It is this concept of community that considers not only a group of residents, but also the impact upon wider post-Games communities amongst organisations, partnerships and relationships made (Sadd 2010; Minnaert 2012). Therefore, when considering the potential routes of social legacy creation, this chapter employs the concept of community of interest (Hall 2006; Minnaert 2012) to include networks within organisations, created communities, local communities and the host city.

Minnaert (2012, p. 362) suggests that impacts concerning the community often 'refer to improved links and cooperation', and can be seen to include outcomes of community cohesion, co-operative entrepreneurship, community buy-in, uniting people, collective identities and social inclusion (Aktinson et al. 2008; Smith 2009; Minnaert 2012). To engender community benefits, McCartney et al. (2013) propose an improved environment through urban renewal initiatives as well as feeling part of a host nation as critical pathways to generate health, wellbeing social impacts for a host city. Therefore, guided by Minnaert's (2012) concept of community impacts and McCartney et al.'s (2013) critical pathways, this chapter examines potential routes to create a social legacy in Glasgow from the Commonwealth Games.

Rogerson (2016) proposes that the ability to understand the concept of social legacy and community impacts has emerged from the development of the legacy timeframe to take into account a greater pre- and post-Games time-period. Therefore, this allows greater involvement of the local community members and organisations in the event and legacy planning stages. Guided by emerging research and the data collected from the interviews, focus groups and online survey, this chapter is structured by themes. First, this chapter provides an analysis of the community impacts aligned with the major event regeneration rhetoric while examining the role community

engagement plays in the creation of social legacy. Furthermore, the concept of social capital is employed to critically examine the development of community networks from the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. Finally, this chapter sets out areas of concern with regard to community impacts and the creation of social legacy.

Key finding: This chapter highlights the importance of appropriate urban regeneration and community-level engagement. The analysis emphasises the development within major event regeneration efforts to recognise priority areas within the host cities and the opportunity to build trusted relationships and networks to foster interest in community participation, involvement and ownership for future community development.

7.2 Community engagement through event-led urban regeneration

McCartney et al. (2013) highlight improved housing, transport and urban development as potential ingredient to engender health, wellbeing and social impacts; therefore, the following section of this chapter sets out the data collected aligned with urban renewal impacts as a pathway towards the creation of social legacy. Furthermore, when considering the community impacts for Glasgow as host of the 2014 Commonwealth Games, key sub-themes and potential social legacy outcomes for the locale are identified as local community engagement, buy-in, ownership and inclusion. Skinner et al. (2008) encourage cities to take a flexible approach with choice and opportunities for local residents to emphasis engagement. They highlight that a ‘one size fits all’ (Skinner et al. 2008, p. 271) does not necessarily meet each host community needs. Engaging with community values through the overall event hosting process provides an opportunity for the organising body to respect to the local communities’ input (Misener and Mason 2006; Gursoy and Kendall 2006; Agha et al. 2011), which would avoid claims of ‘manufactured consent’ (Cashman 2002, p. 6) and encourage public involvement.

The emerging acknowledgment of community involvement and engagement pre-Games (Leopkey and Parent 2012; Christie and Gibb 2015) perhaps displays encouraging realisations that highlight the importance of planned, community initiatives to move away from common possible major event issues such as displacement, gentrification, increased prices and community unhappiness (Lees et al. 2008; Porter et al. 2009; Bornstein 2010; Hall and Barrett 2012). The importance of community engagement is a common sub-theme in this section from the data collected for this study.

7.2.1 Post-industrial events urban regeneration

Crawford et al. (2007, p. 45) discuss previous regeneration attempts in the post-industrial city by exploring the potential for Glasgow post-Commonwealth Games. From their report, they advise that within Glasgow's East End 'areas suffering from serious urban and social problems but with little perceived economic potential were conspicuously ignored, despite being identified as a priority by local authorities.' Again, this emphasises the trend of targeted event-led regeneration in areas of urban decline and is very much in keeping with the data collected from a local authority partnership organisation concerning the East End of Glasgow.

Surrounding event-led regeneration, areas of urban decline and social issues are notable choices in where regeneration plans are focused (Smith and Fox 2007; McCartney et al. 2013). Glasgow is a city that has previously been the focus of event-led regeneration, for example the European City of Culture 1990. The data collected in this study suggests a portion of the East End of Glasgow were uncertain and cynical regarding potential regeneration benefits from previous experiences not resulting in any meaningful changes. Clark and Kearns (2015) suggest that city renewal plans can utilise many strategies in response to neglected communities suffering from urban decline including culture and sport. Paton et al. (2012) describes Glasgow as a prime example of major event-led regeneration in a deprived area, specifically the targeted regeneration in the East End of Glasgow. The implementation of such a strategy in Glasgow supports McCartney et al. (2013, p. 25) argument:

A trend is emerging where the most deprived areas of large cities use utilised as event locations, largely because of the available 'brownfield' land and the perception that the event will bring social and economic regeneration to a blighted city area.

As part of wider regeneration plans, the Commonwealth Games were an important element of the event-led regeneration in the East End of Glasgow (Crawford et al. 2007); however, this was not without problems. To manage the East End regeneration site and any potential issues, Clyde Gateway regeneration agency was established in the heart of the East End. An interview with a local authority partnership organisation employee describes Clyde Gateway's starting point with the East End of the city:

'So this is where Clyde Gateway fitted in, so you get this situation where its a big challenge because you were dealing with people for 40-50 years had faced nothing but problems and, this is no exaggeration, we would go along to meeting just after Clyde gateway started and we would be speaking to 2 or 3 people, very small gatherings cause

they weren't really interest, there was no engagement, the Games were 6 years out who really cared about them when you can't afford a loaf of bread or a pint of milk you know that's something in the distance and we would get local people saying to us, aye very good do you really think these athletes are going to come here and stay in this village, you can build it but they'll no stay here. Once they come and have a look at the East End they are going to run away from it. They will go and stay in hotels and go to the West End or stay wherever but no way, no way they will stay in this village. Why would anybody want to be here, that was the type of attitude we were up against' (IP4).

The excerpt above, aligned with thorough major event research and previous Games experiences, is an example of why the city of Glasgow felt it was important to have a long-term engagement strategy. A literature review produced by the Scottish Government in 2012 and revisited in 2015, highlighted:

Event-led regeneration can leave a positive long-term legacy ... Nonetheless this will not happen automatically, and plans need to be well integrated into the existing policy landscape and must be formed early in the process. The evidence shows community engagement is also important (2015, p. 37).

And,

'There is evidence that unless careful planning is in place, the local community may not feel the benefits, and may even be displaced by the activities' (2015, p.37).

Here, it is evident that the city of Glasgow made knowledgeable decisions that informed the legacy planning approach taken. The importance of employing a thoughtful engagement strategy was also evident throughout the data collected in this study. In an interview with a local authority, the interviewee states how the Games would only be a success for their population if they had the community support:

'The community engagement was crucial. There is a healthy cynicism amongst the population at large in our country I feel, what's in it for us. There will be nothing in it for us ... it's only for athletes or posh people' (IP1).

Similarly, when discussing the importance of community engagement and understanding, an interviewee from the East End of Glasgow set out what the idea of the Games meant for the community:

'I think it's [community engagement] very important, there were a lot of people unhappy about well the houses being knocked down years ago, the restrictions in transport, the security. So I think it's very important you engage with the local community because they won't necessarily see any benefits, although there are those facilities, there's still plenty of people 'what would I want a velodrome, sort of thing' so I think it's really important that you do [engage with the community]'. (IP9)

Supporting Crawford et al.'s (2007) statement of negligence of deprived areas, an interview with the a local authority partnership organisation employee described the East End as having 'a complete lack of self-confidence' (IP4), from broken promises. More specifically, the interviewee spoke of what the lack of investment into the East End community had resulted in:

'We were dealing with a community which was, it wasn't fragmented because that suggests it was together and it had broken up, it didn't exist'. (IP4)

And, their experience of initiative themselves as a regeneration agency that would deliver change for the locale:

'And of course people just laughed, they laughed because we were making all the right noises but the proof had to come in the delivery, so we worked really hard'. (IP4)

A feeling of neglect was noticeable while data collecting for this project; however, a positive future was the overall feeling, with one resident stating:

'Prior to Clyde Gateway, there had been no attempt to bring the community steering group together, not since GEAR, which was about 20 odd years ago. So there was nothing and the area was really, really bad so it needed some sort of input and as well as these 2 projects, Clyde Gateway have built the big East Gate office which is Glasgow Safety services now'. (IP9)

Clyde Gateway was established in 2006 as an urban regeneration partnership spanning areas of Glasgow City and Lanarkshire with an aim to enhance economic investment, develop community growth and establish sustainable urban regeneration (Crawford et al. 2007). From the post-Games report, Clyde Gateway has been heralded a success with claims of:

'The initial £100 million spending by Clyde Gateway to create a regenerated and sustainable community in the East End of Glasgow over the six years to the Games is estimated to have supported on average around 200 jobs each year' (Glasgow 2014, 2015 p. 69).

Glackin and Dionisio (2016) argue that for urban regeneration projects to be a success, community engagement and stakeholder participation are vital elements. A local authority partnership organisation employee described Clyde Gateway and its perceived success as hard work and perseverance:

'We spent a lot of time going out to meetings on wet Wednesday nights in October/November when 4 people would be there, in a sense it was soul destroying but bit by bit word got out. Word of mouth, these are the good guys, a phrase someone once used, we were seen as the good guys, when the good guys come in you get involved with them'. (IP4)

The data collected for this study suggests that this reported success is aligned with previous research which argues cities must plan legacy in advance (Halwirth and Toohey 2013; Clark and Kearns 2015) and place community engagement at the heart of plans (Glackin and Dionisio 2016). These recommendations have become increasingly important within in event-led regeneration, as the use of regeneration has grown to no longer consist of merely housing or property renewal, but partnership, integration, communication and inclusion (Smith et al. 2009; Coaffee 2013; Watt 2013; Shipway and Fyall 2013; Viehoff and Poynter 2016).

7.2.2 Planned community engagement

Evidence of the benefits of engagement, information sharing and development are notable throughout the range stakeholder perspectives from the data collected in this study. An interviewee from a voluntary sector organisation employee described the importance of understanding how to engage with communities as:

‘Probably the most essential question we are facing for the next 10 – 20 years ... I think that community engagement is still dominated by community problems, as the starting point’ (IP2).

Sadd (2010) states that for event-led regeneration projects to be successful there must be communication on how they benefit the existing community, rather than the new incomers who have relocated to the regenerated area post-Games. Data collected in this study suggests the importance of appropriate community engagement was imperative to Clyde Gateway’s approach. An interviewee from a local authority partnership organisation sets out their approach in an interview as:

‘We had to start and do that from the beginning and actually say to folk, look the 2014 Commonwealth Games it’s not that far away, 6 years might seem a long time but that’s the time it’ll take to plan it. In the meantime, what would like to see happen to your community in the build up to the Games? What would you like to see as a pre-Games legacy? So we started asking the people for their agenda, listening to their agenda and acting on their agenda and that was, in a sense, how we got started, how we got things going with the GQG, how we changed attitudes and got local to realise that there was something very much in this for them and this wasn’t the way some people were portraying it in the media as a get rich quick scheme for property developers, or an egotistical thing for politicians at city and national level to strut their stuff on the world stage where people came and ran and jumped for a few weeks. There really was an enormous amount of social and economic benefits that would come to some of the most historically deprived communities and neighbourhoods in the city’ (IP4).

Key themes from the above quote are reflected in research regarding urban regeneration implications such as planning (Smith 2012; Clark and Kearns 2015) and local communication (Misener and Mason 2006; Sadd 2010). Glackin and Dionisio (2016) argue that the areas that present many challenges for urban redevelopment projects are social tensions and local community resistance. They propose trust as key ingredient for social change and participation in producing needed and meaningful urban development. Similarly, Smith (2009) describes the concept of a sustainable urban community as a place where community members are a vital player in the design, planning and operation.

The data collected from the interviews with decision makers for this study suggests that Glasgow as a host city demonstrated understanding of the importance of community consultation and engagement. An interviewee claimed they are ‘committed to continuing the story’ (IP1) of a positive legacy for Glasgow from the Commonwealth Games 2014. Similarly, an interviewee (IP13) described the hopes for the future of Glasgow through a more engaged community:

‘All of that then leads to the social outcome which leads to, in some cases, better health social outcomes, it leads to training and employment opportunities, it leads to more engaged community and again more confidence, the whole thing is an upwards spiral so all of that is for me what that begins to do’.

The overall concept behind the level of community engagement throughout Glasgow’s event-led regeneration is, as Dinham (2005) suggests, not a new concept; rather, ‘participation, empowerment and ownership are seen as necessary conditions for change’ (Dinham 2005, p. 302) and commonly employed within community development strategies. Furthermore, the feeling of being part of that host city to increase a sense of identity and civic pride is proposed by McCartney et al. (2013) as a critical pathway to generate positive health, wellbeing and social impacts. The data collected from a public sector organisation employee interviewee in this study supports Dinham’s (2005) concept of community development, specifically highlighting the planning element for Glasgow:

‘I think the planning, the embedding of what it is you want to achieve, understanding where you are going when you sometimes don’t have the route map, the widest possible engagement and ownership with individuals, sectors, the whole, that is really crucial, it’s about getting that reach but with real depth so you are engaging people’ (IP13).

Furthermore, an interview conducted with a local authority also highlighted the importance of ownership and participation, stating:

‘Well, the sense of ownership of the Games is absolutely crucial, unless you instil in the people of your city a sense that the Games are theirs, that they owned the Games, I think you’re doomed unless you do that’ (IP1).

And,

‘That [continued interest] was all about the ownership. Building the facilities and opening them, at least a year and letting people get access and doing all those 100s of meeting with community’s organisation that I did. Meeting with the business community and establishing a portal, we set up a Commonwealth Games portal so that businesses could go online and see straight away what contract were coming up so we got people to register with that. So we tried to engage with as many different stakeholders as we possibly could, I think that’s important’ (IP1).

Halbwirth and Toohey (2013) advise that to allow informed planning, organising committees must initiate information infrastructures and services as well as robust and flexible policies from seven years pre-Games. The local authority employee states how they consulted with previous research to design an approach specific to their city needs:

‘We carried out an online petition before we put the bid in which was ‘Back the bid’. We got 2 million Scots to sign that to say they supported the bid and the trick for us was to make sure that that level of support continued throughout the period up to the Games. Previous research shows that normally what you get is when you get the bid awarded support is hugely high, e.g. 90% of the population and when you actually run the Games support will be 90% but usually in between there is a big dip, and that usually is to do with costs and it might do down to 70% for example. This is previous experience of multi-sport Games, we were able to keep it right there (90%) right through the entire period’ (IP1).

The above claim of sustained community interest supports a key principle set out by the Scottish Government to encourage community engagement pre-Games as a wider legacy benefit (2009; 2012). The apparent success of the community engagement effort within Glasgow is echoed in data collected from a public sector organisation:

‘It went really, really well because remember our buildings were not built for the Games they were built for the city anyway and part of that is how we do community consultation etc. So we have area teams in Glasgow Life, we have teams working all the time out in the community so you’ve got that ongoing engagement. What we had the ability to do was to put in place more action lead engagement so it was around supporting people to apply for lottery money, a lot of facilitation and supporting etc. I think that’s really important and it’s not all just about information given, it’s not just all about telling people that going to happen, it’s about engaging people much wider. Engaging people in being volunteers, engaging people in being part of the closing ceremony, engaging people in developing their own local community projects, doing things like ‘big, big sing’ and the cultural programme where you are engaging people. It’s not just about traditional consultation engagement methods, its actually about really just doing it and actually making people

understand and giving people the opportunity to be part of it, and I think we were absolutely able to do that' (IP13).

The above interviewee highlights an informed community engagement strategy that fit with the city of Glasgow. Furthermore, this statement corroborates a major issue that Glasgow aimed to avoid, which was raised in the Scottish Governments literature review (2012); 'the infrastructure can be too focused on the Games-time period'. Literature recommends that host cities should implement a coordinated approach from the bidding process (Gursoy and Kendall 2006; Smith 2012; Scottish Government 2012, 2015). The interview quoted previously with a local authority employee demonstrates acknowledgement of this recommendation through the 'Back the bid' campaign. A result of such an approach is said to promote local involvement from the beginning (Gursoy and Kendall 2006; Minnaert 2012). This study proposes that Glasgow did achieve local interest from the bidding stage. Also, when asked about their thoughts surrounding a planned legacy, an interview from a local authority partnership organisation stated:

'I think a lot of credit had to go to the people that put the bid for the Games, that's Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Government. Between them they had an idea and an aspiration ... they took the Games and they realised from the start that lessons had to be learned from previous sporting events, Olympics, Commonwealth, World Cup, whatever. Where there seems to be an effort to just build the venues and that's your legacy. They have fantastic new sports venues that could be used or they could become white elephants that seem to have been the case. So give them [Glasgow City Council and Scottish Government] credit in their bid, there will be very little in terms of new venues because they just adapted existing venues which is cheaper. It's also a way of improving the standard of existing venues so that allows a sense of or more flexible way to look at a different type of legacy' (IP4).

There is clearly appreciation between different stakeholders. The idea of a shared goal in the above excerpt is consistent with research from Hall (2006) and Silvestre (2009), who suggest that major sporting events often have the capacity to bring together different stakeholders towards a mutual goal. The methods of consultation and community participation discussed with a public sector employee during interview present a considered approach to community engagement, appropriate to the host city needs. Therefore, it can be suggested this approach enabled Glasgow as a host city to make decisions based on what was appropriate for their community:

'Well I think what really is unique about Glasgow 2014 is that legacy, we had begun to secure the legacy of the Games long before the Games took place. We opened up all the council run facilities that would be use during the Games at least a year before the game meaning that people from Glasgow could use these facilities before the elite athlete would, unlike most other Games I know of, what that did was it brought a real sense of ownership to these facilities' (IP14).

The above claim is supported by a distinct lack of literature surrounding previous major event host cities having their facilities open prior to the competition period; therefore, it remains to be seen whether making this decision truly had an impact upon the Games experience in Glasgow. The implications of new facilities and engagement is analysed in detail in the next section of this chapter. While further research from other examples is needed to provide context to this example, the opportunity Glasgow had by opening facilities pre-Games was to examine the use of the facilities. This was effective in avoiding ‘white elephants’ and the attached negative legacies. McCartney et al. (2013) stated that the forethought Glasgow had when building relatively modest new sports infrastructure is claimed to be a main reason for awarding the Games to Glasgow; the Commonwealth Games Federation (CWGF) post-Games report states Glasgow won the bid to host the 20th Commonwealth Games partly due to 70% of its sporting venues already existing (CWGF 2014). Cashman and Horne (Toohey 2013) highlight that despite the growth in legacy planning and the management involved from a host city, the area remains in the development stage.

From research conducted pre-Games in Glasgow, Matheson (2010) encouraged a holistic approach to community engagement to ensure the host communities’ voices were heard during all legacy development and implementation processes. Gursoy and Kendall (2006) advise that this level of engagement requires abandoning traditional approaches to a certain extent; however, this is said to lead to wider community discussion over perceived positives and how to reduce the potential negative consequences. Data collected for this study suggests the approach Glasgow took to community engagement corresponds with the recommendation from academic literature.

7.3 Social capital

The development of the use of social capital within urban planning literature (Putman 2002) has potential to aid event managers in creating successful events through increased awareness of community resources, stronger interactions between organisations and the promotion of social cohesiveness (Lassila et al. 2013). Social capital has notable roots in individual development through the creation of stronger networks and relationships (Misener 2013). Minnaert (2012) suggests that these links are commonly used to illustrate improved community cohesion, which can be a result of increased social capital. Social capital is used as a way of increasing empowerment, community development and well-being, and therefore builds towards a renewed sense of community (Skinner et al. 2008) and increases the possibility of positive impacts within arts and culture, creativity, and quality of life of the residents (Pickernall et al. 2007). The

innovative development of opening facilities pre-Games and encouraging community participation and ownership within Games regeneration and engagement methods is echoed in Misener's (2013) research concerning how civic activities to bring people together in shared celebration and experience is said to facilitate social capital, as individuals are empowered to feel part of the transformation and fresh start of their community. Furthermore, this can be seen to build from Misener and Mason's (2006) earlier research highlighting the importance of community-level involvement in the Games planning stages in order to foster social capital and create community value. McCartney et al. (2013) also suggests that creating a sense of identity for a host city where the host community feel part of the creation may engender positive health, wellbeing and social impacts.

Having already established well-being improvements within volunteer programmes, data from this research also suggest a knowledgeable approach to creating a sense of ownership of the Games. Thus, the data collected demonstrates what Gursoy and Kendall (2006) label as a democratic approach to encourage community involvement. Drawing from Coleman's (1990) theory of social capital, which places significant importance on the need for healthy, stable community networks to enable community progression and success within all communities, this discussion presents an examination of event-led regeneration from a community perspective to determine the possible of building social capital. When interviewed about the targeted regeneration in the East End, a resident interviewee stated:

'Clyde Gateway were very clever because when they first started in the local community the set up a steering committee of about 15 people on it who were involved at every level. They took us in to the city centre to look at street furniture and things in Buchanan street so we could have an idea of what we might want here, they are also very good at having open days where they had displays of what they hoped/planning to do. They got the schools involved to a very large extent all the local schools were brought into open days and involved right from the start' (IP9).

The resident refers to the time and effort that was spent on ensuring the regeneration had community involvement. Furthermore, it is evident for the resident that this was a positive experience. This concurs with Gursoy and Kendall (2006), who suggest that a democratic route enables the possibility of the event-led impacts are a positive experience for the local community. This draws upon Coleman's (1990) theory of social capital, which places significant importance on the need for healthy, stable community networks to enable community progression and success within all communities (Misener and Mason 2006). While notoriously difficult to measure (Tonts 2005), social capital is said to be fundamental to the use of the events for social regeneration

(Coalter 2007; Darcy 2014). Similar to Coleman's (1988) more community focussed idea of social capital, Putnam (2000) suggests that the more horizontal networks between civic groups, the more prosperous the community. Creating a collective sense of responsibility between engaged community members is beneficial for problem solving. Furthermore, initial research suggests events can contribute to the development of social capital through generating a collective effort of community members willingly engaging in meaningful regeneration or development initiatives within their community; therefore, this not merely occurs through elite decision making where social capital is already highly developed (Misener 2013). An interview conducted with a local authority partnership organisation highlights the future for the newly regenerated East End:

‘What we are now doing now is, we are at the stage where and as Clyde Gateway as an organisation will continue to evolve and change over the next 15 years. It will grow for a while and then hopefully it will begin to, we will be in a position to, in a sense we aren't really needed anymore, once the community find their feet and the confidence to do things on their own, let them do it' (IP4).

And,

‘I eventually see it as those people [new residents] get more involved and more active in the community and working with existing resident to see where the agenda goes, we are ready for that agenda, we will welcome whatever the local community want to do' (IP4).

Here, the notion of empowering the local residents to encourage a sense of ownership and overall decision making is consistent with Smith's (2009) notion of a self-sustaining community where the locale are key players in the areas design, planning and operation. Furthermore, the notion of being part of the identity of a city and increased civic pride is also aligned with McCartney et al.'s (2013) critical pathway to increased health, wellbeing and social impacts. The relationship building focus that is evident between organisations and communities represents that importance in building trust and cooperation throughout event-led regeneration amongst all event stakeholders (Lassila et al. 2013). This links with Misener's (2013) conclusion that being involved in community decision making can increase social capital amongst all community members involved. Further evidence of this concept is notable from focus group data. When discussing the residents' experience of previous community development strategies, one resident explained, ‘it did take a wee while to turn people's mind set around’ because ‘things were parachuted into the area ... then left and the community would ask okay well what now?’. This feeling, however, is becoming less prevalent within the East End community, as was stated:

‘The community has to learn to take ownership ... some people in our type of community don’t understand that their skills set can be transferable because they have never had to put into those words, that you have a lot to offer, you just have a lack of confidence’ (IP4).

Here, the phrasing of ‘our type of community’ highlights the separation felt by residents in the deprived East End. This concurs with Crawford et al.’s (2007) findings of a community ignored, and the data from a local authority partnership organisation interviewee which highlighted a ‘complete lack of self-confidence’ (IP4). It is for the above reasons that the East End of Glasgow proved a prime candidate for targeted regeneration, concurring with Paton et al. (2012) who argue that mega events, such as the Olympics and Commonwealth Games, are an increasingly utilised outlet of urban regeneration for host cities with areas of poverty and deprivation.

The data presented here displays aspects of ownership, empowerment and participation within a host community. This reflects community development theory, which Dingham (2005) argues to be as necessary for change, and Misener (2013) conceptualisation of social capital emerging from empowered communities involved in major event activities and event-led regeneration. The findings analysed here also reflect Smith’s (2012) suggestion that building community capacity increases the likelihood of future community-led regeneration. Preuss (2007) and Swart et al. (2011) discuss these implications as social legacy outcomes with the capacity to unify people and create a national vision. Similarly, McCartney et al. (2013) suggest that a national identity and increased in civic pride from feeling part of a host city may result in positive health, wellbeing and social impacts. Similarities can also be drawn from Misener and Mason’s (2006) research exploring the nature of sport events’ role within community development, participation and reinvigoration. Thus, it can be suggested from the findings in this study that utilising community identity, pride and ownership as critical pathways to create a social legacy presents potential for host cities aiming for a sustainable social outcomes.

7.4 Community impacts issues

Thus far, this chapter has explored social legacy community impacts from a positive angle; however, there is a substantial amount of research on potential negative community outcomes. Research suggests organising bodies tend to ignore negative issues surrounding legacies, often assuming any impact will be positively received (Cashman 2006; Gratton and Preuss 2008; Dickson et al. 2011). This assumption has not muted the body of research, citing potential community issues such as unmanageable infrastructure post-event, loss of tourism, high debts,

increased opportunity costs and socially exploited host communities (Gratton and Preuss 2008; Leopkey and Parent 2012). Recently, McCartney et al. (2013, p. 35) highlighted that pre-Games research on Glasgow's legacy potential suggested that there is a real chance of 'increased equalities, increased consumerism, gentrification and public sector cutbacks'. An argument can be made that hosting a major event should be considered solely as a celebration event. McCartney et al. (2013) summarise their conclusion that while Glasgow has developed planning and resource considerations, the history of major events does suggest the spending necessary is unjust and could be utilised elsewhere in Glasgow.

The potential and promise that events pose to encourage change and improvement within a community is not always felt to be unanimously positive (David and Thornley 2010). Research suggests that Glasgow's event-led regeneration strategy employed a considered approach to encouraging change within the regeneration area:

'Due to the previous industrial use of land in the East End of Glasgow, many of the sites being used in and around the East End of Glasgow relating to Glasgow 2014, are potentially contaminated and/or derelict land. Through Glasgow 2014, the remediation of certain sites has been made possible, by bringing them back into use and leaving a lasting legacy in the East End of the city' (Glasgow City Council 2010, p.50).

This provides a contemporary example of the use of events in a post-industrial city. Also, a shift in event regeneration has helped focus emphasis on long-term outcomes rather than momentary, short-term impacts (Smith 2011). Similarly, to avoid gentrification issues, McCartney et al. (2013, p. 32) suggests for Glasgow 'other than the Games village, there is little or no regeneration planned as part of the 2014 Games that was not already planned before Glasgow won the right to play host'. Similarly, an interview conducted with a local authority partnership organisation suggests that the design of the housing improvements were careful thought out:

'As far as I'm aware most games villages put together for multi sports events whether its Olympics, Pan American, Commonwealth, whatever. It's tended to be flatted accommodation, high rise cheap and that knock on effect is into usually student accommodation. What they [Glasgow City Council and Scottish Government] identified very early on is out here in the East End of the city a real need for particular types of housing were lacking the area. You only need to look around Bridgeton Cross to see for yourself, tenements. Very much the focus of this area and traditionally has, but they knew there was a demand out there for front and back doors, and high quality housing, affordable housing, so the plan that was put together for the athlete village. A concept that would eventually deliver first phase 700 new homes with a further 700 to follow and the vast majority with front and back doors, the vast majority sort of 3 4 bedrooms and a mix of being able to purchase and social renting because there is still an affordability issue here' (IP4).

This considered approach to housing renewal is consistent with Sadd's (2010) suggestion that for event-led regeneration projects to be successful there must be communication on how to benefit the existing community rather than the new incomers who relocated to the regenerated area post-Games. While this is often questioned within urban regeneration literature, drawing from research on previous Games-related regeneration projects, scholars argue that the regeneration should benefit the existing communities and not the new communities who move into developed area (Sadd 2010). Data collected from residents in this study was somewhat conflicted regarding the assumed improvement. From a resident interview, the positivity felt surrounding the Athletes Village and newly housed community members was apparent:

'The community want to move in oh yes! I think we've had the complete 200 already, they are fine houses and that's a legacy to put it that way. Plus there is phase 2 which is another 300 houses and a school so that's bound to regenerate the area. I lived in Dalmarnock for about 61 years before I moved down here [Bridgeton] and I saw it going from a really busy thriving area to be a desert because all the tenement building pulled down and of course when they went, the shops went. I moved down here [Bridgeton] 15 years ago and when I left it there was absolutely nothing, and I can absolutely see a difference now. It will take years really but already you can see the benefit with all the people moving into the area there is a community centre being built for the area and also the big Tesco is there and I've heard there a McDonalds going to be built so its an ongoing thing with people moving in, demand for facilities and shops grows' (IP9).

This clearly illustrates what positive event-led regeneration can provide by being well informed and implemented. Similarly, focus group data is in agreement:

'I think personally yes, there is a legacy because I think younger children not our age group, or young folks will look back on it with positive memories, I really do, memories of us all trying to be together' (P4).

'It certainly was an asset for the East End, with all the housing, they cleared all the tenements and things and I think it looked a bit better' (P3).

Here, as previously set out by Clyde Gateway, is the benefit of community engagement though event-led regeneration.

These findings are in opposition to some research stating the use of legacy is essentially a political tool used to promote seemingly simple and attractive ideas to the public, disguising any possible negatives impacts for the host communities such as property rises, enforced purchases and relocation (Cashman and Horne 2003). Furthermore, Davis and Thornley (2010, p.90) suggest, 'after so many Games, the legacy plans have been diverted by having to sell off assets to the highest bidder in order to balance the Olympic budget'; thus, this resulted in commonly discussed potential

negative impact such as eviction and displacement. However, as previously mentioned, the data collected for this study differed on the positives concerning housing benefits. Interestingly, the differing opinions were not only from different interviewees or organisations, but also within community focus groups:

‘They [the people who lived in the previous housing] are heartbroken, they have destroyed the community. I’m coming from a different way, I am a community rep and looking at it any projects have got better and nut. Nut. We got it before, the likes of the sports centre getting new equipment and things but that’s only because that part of the Commonwealth Games were coming here, but the after effect no, and for the East End ... horrendous, my heart goes out to them cause they are all scattered to the four winds’ (P2 Focus Group 3).

‘Anybody I’ve spoken to have all thought it was wonderful, it was marvellous the fact it all went to well’ (P4 Focus Group 3).

Notably, no participants in this focus group were relocated for the Games in Glasgow; however, the purpose of community focus groups was to gain an insight into overall community feelings and experiences felt within the community and provide varying viewpoints. Within the focus groups, the overall opinion was an agreement that the relocated community were uprooted despite previously discussed community engagement regeneration strategies. This is not uncommon, as literature indicates that despite the cultural (Pratt 2009) and sport focussed (Coalter 2007) turn in recent years, displacement of local communities is, more often than not, an eventual result of mega sporting events (Smith 2009; Porter et al. 2009; Wang, Bai and Lin 2015). Much of the concerns for the residents consulted in all the focus groups were surrounding the community having no choice in moving and loss of the already established community. This is aligned with research highlighting mega-event regeneration projects can be ‘associated with displacement of low-income residents, increased tax burdens for residents, increased real estate prices, and few visible social benefits’ (Bornstein 2010, p. 202). Hall (2006) argues that the implications of gentrification are commonly cited as inevitable result of economic and social restructuring. Thus, the loss of identity and displacement concerns are mirrored in findings proposed by Gray and Porter (2015) and Silk (2014). Smith (2009) suggests this is ‘darker side’ of regeneration. Similarly, research proposes that major events’ redevelopment strategies are generally felt by underprivileged and disadvantaged communities experiencing displacement, breaking down of social networks and loss of affordable housing (Owen 2012; Watt 2013; Silk 2014).

In spite of a small number of negative aspects discussed in the focus groups, it should be noted that the majority of the community members’ experiences of the Commonwealth Games were positive.

This is also demonstrated in worries from the participants concerning the possibility of increased crime or trouble:

‘I did think there would be more trouble, but I’ve never seen it, so like anywhere there are going be bits of trouble but see when the Commonwealth came, there was nothing. I can honestly say I thought it was a very positive thing for the area; it’s kind of like what are they doing now’ (P3 Focus Group 4).

Therefore, while authors such as Wang, Bao and Lin (2015) report a number of negative impacts felt by host communities such as social concerns of increased crime and noise, the communities consulted in this research did not have such as experience while living in the host city for the Commonwealth Games. It is suggested from the data that the overall positivity was hoped for, but perhaps not expected. Specifically, as previously discussed, prior regeneration and community engagement efforts had produced a cynical feeling surrounding the Commonwealth Games regeneration and engagement initiatives; however, analysis of the focus groups presented the participants feeling of pride and welcoming nature as a priority when recounting being part of the host nation.

7.5 Summary

Through using emergent themes from the data, this chapter has analysed the identification of community impacts, such as engagement, ownership, social capital and regeneration, to examine the potential to create a social legacy. From the above examination, it is evident that having an engaged community influences the reported success of a major event. The data consistently agrees with previous research, which states early planning is a necessary element to achieve successful community engagement, as it supports information sharing and encouraging participation.

In addition, there is evidence to suggest an increase in social capital at a community level. Misener and Mason (2006) highlight social capital as critical concept within sport event management to determine the impacts of event on community development and network creation. The notable importance placed on creating a sense of ownership for the residents of Glasgow is aligned with previous research that suggests community development through empowerment, participation and ownership is vital (Dinham 2005). Furthermore, the data confirm the benefits of early legacy planning when considering event-led regeneration. This, notably, also shares links with community development strategies and fosters stronger communities through shared experiences and new

networks; therefore, it offers routes to build social capital through relationships created (Misener and Mason 2006; Minnaert 2012).

As with the previous chapter, McCartney et al.'s (2013) recommendations for generating a positive legacy is detailed below. The sections highlighted below are the key ingredients for change: suggested critical pathways and direct impacts more relevant to the findings presented in this chapter. The framework below allows a clear assessment of some of the elements considered to be a Games legacy. McCartney et al. (2013) suggests that feeling part of the host nation is vital to increased sense of identity and pride, and that new housing, improved urban design, regeneration and transport improvements are essential to an overall improved environment. While both of the highlighted pathways are said to have direct impacts upon health, wellbeing and social impacts, the preceding discussion has outlined that, in order to realise said impacts, early planning and appropriate engagement is required at a community level. The findings in this study suggest that while potential concerns and negative outcomes of event-led regeneration and community-level engagement remain evident, an overall positive experience was reported from a number of stakeholder perspectives. Thus, when considering urban renewal and encouraging participation within the host as an indicator of health, wellbeing and social impacts, the findings in this study propose McCartney et al.'s (2013) are consistent with the ability to generate a positive social legacy (see Table 24).

Table 24 McCartney et al. (2013) highlighted community impacts

Key ingredients for change	Critical pathway	Direct impacts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased tourism Increased exporting of good and services (trade) Investment in Games-related infrastructure The opportunity cost of investment in Games-related infrastructure 	Economic growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Employment Income Equality Service provision
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Provision of new sports facilities Inspiration (festival and demonstration effects) 	Increase sports participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased physical activity and health
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Part of host city or nation 	Increased pride and sense of identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Health, wellbeing and social impacts

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunity of volunteering at Games 	Volunteering	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased skills • Increased future volunteering • Health, wellbeing and social impacts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New housing • Improved urban design • Regeneration • Transport improvements 	Improved environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health, wellbeing and social impacts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Various potential impacts 	Legacy programmes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Various potential impacts

8.0 Discussion – Image, status and sense of place impacts

8.1 Introduction

This chapter utilises Minnaert's (2012) third and final social impacts category concerning image, status and sense of place to analyse the potential to create a social legacy from the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. Minnaert (2012) argues this category plays a significant role to determine social impacts due to the reported positive outcomes for the locale. Similarly, McCartney et al.'s (2013) critical pathway of increased sense of identity and pride is argued to derive from the ability to be and feel part of the host city or nation, which leads to potential direct positive health, wellbeing and social impacts.

Therefore, to continue the examination into the potential social legacy a major event host can achieve, the following section analyses the creation of a social legacy framed in Minnaert's (2012) theme surrounding image, status and sense of place and the impacts a major event can have upon said themes for the host city. The following analysis includes elements suggested by Minnaert (2012), such as reputation and civic pride, in addition to McCartney et al.'s (2013) recommended pathway of pride and identity. In doing so, and informed by the data collected from interviews, focus groups and the online survey, this chapter aims to provide a coherent discussion surrounding the impacts of these findings within current academic and industry practice.

First, this chapter provides an analysis of the social impacts concerning city reputation, both internally and externally. The discussion focuses upon the significant themes that emerged from the data, including Glasgow's changing reputation, the host community perspective and city branding. This chapter then analyses civic pride as a social impact from the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games, and the potential it presents to create a social legacy. Lastly, this chapter critically examines a route to establishing a social legacy through the social impacts fostered by a sense of identity or place from hosting a major sporting event.

Key finding: This chapter critically analyses the potential to generate social impacts relating to image, status and sense of place from hosting a major sporting event. Key themes of reputation, civic pride and sense of identity were examined in relation to data collected from a range of stakeholders. From the stakeholder perspectives, it can be suggested that the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games had a positive internal reputation impact, stimulated an increase in civic

pride and highlighted the need to foster a sense of place through encouraging community development and ownership.

8.2 Reputation

Schausteck de Almeida et al. (2013) report the use of major sporting events as a platform for countries and cities to promote a new national and international image. Similarly, Li (2013) and Kim et al. (2015) state that events can be used to promote and enhance intangible benefits such as civic pride and global city reputation. While McCartney et al. (2013) highlight the potential use of an event to rebrand a city, it is important to recognise the social impact from an internal perspective of the host city as well as externally for tourism and investment (Oshimi 2016). Therefore, the following section of this chapter critically examines the role that city reputation can play in creating a social legacy from Glasgow's 2014 Commonwealth Games through analysis of the key themes in the data relating to overall image, status and sense of place.

Prior to hosting the Games, Glasgow had a strong foundation as an 'events city' (Commonwealth Games Federation 2007, p. 3). Garcia (2004, p. 105) suggests this reputation has been built from 'its successful regeneration from depressed post-industrial city in the late 1960s to the attractive cultural and service-orientated city that is it today'. Similarly, Glasgow's (2007, p. 3) bidding document for the 2014 Commonwealth Games highlights the emergence of Glasgow's reputation:

This is a reputation which is not just built upon our world-class facilities or our extensive infrastructure. Glasgow's experience is based on a close working relationship with various national and international governing bodies of sport, our welcoming hospitality, our knowledgeable volunteers and our strong civic commitment to bringing events to the city.

While Anholt (2010) emphasises a city reputation cannot be changed by a sporting event alone, Glasgow's bidding document demonstrates recognition of key elements needed to build and sustain a city's reputation. Similarly, McCartney et al. (2013) present the Commonwealth Games as an opportunity for Glasgow to change its city brand and image. The breadth of such an opportunity is evident in Glasgow's Commonwealth Games candidate file, the bid document outlining the feasibility and city capacity to host such an event, detailing how the history, future development and people of the city are all vital to the success of reputational changes within a host city.

Evidence of such elements and working relationships can be found in the legacy approach that had been integrated in Glasgow's plan from the outset. Rogerson (2016, p. 8) states, 'to achieve this, legacy planning structures were set up from the initial stages of event preparation and unusually

all the main partners involved in delivery of the Games were directly involved in the generation of legacies'. By approaching legacy planning in this way, Glasgow represents an attempt to ensure all legacy initiatives were planned, observed and visible in a more structured way than previous large sporting events (Chappelet 2012; Rogerson 2016). From an interview with a public sector organisation, this approach in itself may have an impact on Glasgow's reputation internationally:

'I think that Glasgow really cracked that [delivering legacy] in terms of how people now are beginning to think about it very, very differently. I know that the Commonwealth Games Federation are now, well the CEO of the CWG federation, and he is responsible for delivering the next number of games so he will take all that learning with him' (IP13).

Similarly, the impact of building upon Glasgow's reputation is evident from the post-Games reports available from both Glasgow City Council and the Commonwealth Games Federation; the former reports 'Reputation Legacy' as a main finding, and the latter claims, 'Glasgow lived up to its friendly reputation and proved to be a warm, generous and enthusiastic host' (Commonwealth Games Federation 2014, p. 5). Also, it sets out wider reputational benefits by stating, 'The Games has enhanced Scotland's reputation on a global stage' (Commonwealth Games Federation 2014, p. 72).

The positive reputational benefits have also been raised in the data gathered for this research. From an interview completed with a local authority, the enhancement of Glasgow image as a host city and the potential future benefits was a priority:

'Glasgow international reputation is even higher now than it was before had so what we are able to do is attract other events' (IP1).

Furthermore, through generating a wider international events reputation, a local authority employee stated the potential wider reach of an enhanced reputation:

'These events that we can attract have got huge benefits for the city because they attract thousands of visitors who spend money here, and if people spend money that benefits the economy which benefits everyone – jobs, engagement with other countries. So it has social benefits, not just financial benefits' (IP1).

The notion of encouraging social benefits, and not purely financial outcomes, is evident within wider events management research. Often described as difficult to measure (Sadd 2010), social impacts are commonly discussed as community pride, developing a sense of place and enhancing quality of life (Sadd 2010; Kaplanidou 2012). Kaplanidou (2012, p. 399) argues such social impacts are 'just as important to economic impacts', explaining that research suggests social outcomes, such as international recognition and community pride, are ranked of equal significance

to economic factors for increased quality of life within the local community. Again, this is aligned with Oshimi's (2016) recommendation to ensure the city's reputation and image is considered as an impact upon the hosting city internally as well as externally as a tourism factor. It is suggested from the data in this thesis that when considering the reputational legacy for Glasgow from the Commonwealth Games, the importance placed on social reputation can be seen to be placed equally beside economic goals. An interview completed with a public sector organisation spoke of these impacts from their perspective:

'The host word is really, really important. So if we as a city are bidding for things that give us international profile, which is absolutely possible, what you do is as part of the development you engage with people and I think we have throughout this conversation demonstrated how we got the bed night, we got the people who will come back, we made people fall in love with this city, I say we as citizens of this city and what we delivered. Also, importantly we made people in Glasgow fall in love with the city again and I think people have not been as engaged for a long, long time' (IP13).

The sentiment behind this statement highlights the potential of well-planned community engagement to achieve broad benefits. This is consistent with Sherry et al. (2011), Minnaert (2012), McCartney et al. (2013) and Oshimi (2016), who suggest events allow a city to have a multidimensional reach and engage with a varied audience.

While research may state that after hosting the 1990 City of Culture, 'Glasgow has been considered a hallmark of city regeneration through arts activity' (Garcia 2004, p. 105), this notion has been criticised and named 'a cosmetic exercise rather than a committed attempt to explore the reality of the city and give the citizens a voice in ways that would survive the year' (Garcia 2004, p. 106). Mooney (2007, p. 327) reported that Glasgow as City of Culture 1990 did little except 'gloss over and divert attention away from the major structural problems which characterised many ex-industrial cities'. In spite of this, there is little doubt that Glasgow's previous experience of hosting large events did secure its place in event management and regeneration history. An interview completed with a volunteer and resident suggested that it was, in fact, the Garden Festival in 1988 that initiated the feeling amongst Glasgow residents of an 'events city':

'I was saying about the Garden Festival and how there was no regeneration after it but people still talk about it. I think that was the turning point, which focus on culture gave Glasgow so much pride and so much confidence and I think, I mean it won't be such a change this time because we all knew we could do it but that exactly the same way. It was something we achieved and something we are dead proud of and I think every Glaswegian feels that, it's not anything tangible and it's a legacy you could look at and put word to but I think it's definitely given the city such a boost, not everybody obviously but most people' (IP12).

Indeed, the overwhelming response to Glasgow's latest event hosting attempt is positive. Rogerson (2016, p. 16) states, 'in the immediate aftermath of the Games in Glasgow, the Commonwealth Games Federation acknowledged that the 'Glasgow approach' had already brought about change, recasting many aspects of how events are imagined, realized and assessed for future Games under its jurisdiction'. Hence, this demonstrates the potential impact Games can have on current and future host city's image, status and sense of place.

The abundant literature Glasgow as host city has produced citing legacy themes, legacy plans, community consultations and future consideration depicts a city that has embraced and learned from previous research, experience, and city examples to produce a progressive legacy approach for hosting major sporting events. This includes, from the Legacy 2014 Scottish Government partnership alone, four pre-Games consultation publications, 16 public meetings, three Organising Committee update reports, over 30 pre- and post-Games publications and 13 infographics (Legacy 2014 2017). While a single event example cannot be said to be sufficient in realising major changes within the direction of future research or event management, the progression within these fields resonates amongst current debates concerning legacy generation and major event management (Christie and Gibb 2015; Preuss 2015; Leopkey and Parent 2015; Rogerson 2016).

Remaining within the notion of producing a sustainable social legacy, an interviewee from a public sector organisation, while highlighting the importance of economic impacts, states that hosting a major event for purely social outcomes would be 'short-sighted', rather, Glasgow aspired to:

'be clear what it is we want out of it, what it also can give us, I do truly believe you can do both, you can engage with your citizens to make you a better host city and give people a better experiences and you can also have international profile' (IP13).

Evident from the above quotation, and throughout the data collected, the importance placed upon engaging with and listening to the host community was a vital part for Glasgow as a host city. The need for such engagement is highlighted within current literature (see Sadd 2010; Smith 2012; Minnaert 2012) and a positive progression towards combining academic recommendations and industry practice to enable host city ambitions.

A further interviewee from a Council run Commonwealth Games Legacy Hub, when questioned about the impact for Glasgow, stated:

'You know 'People Make Glasgow'? People did actually make the Games and I think everyone got the buzz. Helped break down stereotypes from Glasgow's previous reputation' (IP11).

Garcia (2004, p. 107) reported such stereotypes when considering the regeneration legacy of Glasgow City of Culture 1990; she suggested a key legacy of the year long events programme was 'the radical transformation of the city's image from old stereotypes such as razor gangs, unemployment and alcoholism to the celebration of Glasgow as a shopping destination, city of design and architecture, an attractive placement for business activity and conferences, and a cultural centre in the widest sense'. However, data collected from all methods in this study suggest that the legacy described by Garcia (2004) may not have been the case for everyone in the early 2000s. As McCartney et al. (2013) suggests, the Games present an opportunity for Glasgow to continue to change and reshape its identity. Below is a conversation from a focus group regarding the previous stereotypes of Glasgow and how the participants believed people still portrayed the city:

'That was the best thing about it because I think some people think Glasgow and they think trouble because of years gone by' (P3 Focus Group 1).

'Because they still think of 'no mean city' (P6 Focus Group 1).

'Aye years gone by, I mean look at the things that are filmed in Glasgow, you've got the film 'the wee man', you've got 'Taggart, there's been a murder' know what I mean... there is never anything in a positive light' (P3 Focus Group 1).

'It's all very negative' (P1 Focus Group 1).

'People associate it with drinking, about drugs' (P1 Focus Group 1).

'Agreement' (All, Focus Group 1).

Similarly, from an interview with a Games organisation staff member:

'There's a thing as well, I believe, about bringing people to a city that doesn't have a good reputation, a lot of people use the analogy of Taggart, there's been a murder and all that malarkey but when people come to Glasgow, anecdotally, again and say oh I really like Glasgow, I have relatives in Fife who go to Edinburgh but who now will come back to Glasgow and we will stay over, like it's on another planet! And architectural, one of the volunteers said Glasgow is quite like Bath because the architecture' (IP3).

The above excerpts highlight a common theme amongst the data collected citing a previous negative image of Glasgow that perhaps was not as forgotten as literature suggested. However, this study does argue that Glasgow's efforts to change its reputation on an international scale does present potential to establish a social legacy. In the online survey, qualitative answers regarding the impact from the Games upon Glasgow and Scotland produce a majority of positive answers, such as:

‘Large positive impact for Glasgow, some in terms of reputations for Scotland’.

‘Glasgow and its people have gained in reputation, it no longer is next best to Edinburgh. Regenerated areas I hope will continue to thrive’.

‘Regeneration, enhancement of Glasgow's reputation’.

‘Scotland and Glasgow in particular underlined its worldwide reputation for being a welcoming place’.

‘More positive publicity’.

‘Has shown Glasgow in a very positive way, has confirmed that we are one of the friendliest cities in the world and that we can offer fabulous, capable volunteers, if needed, for future events’.

‘I think the city was portrayed in a positive light and will reap the rewards of higher tourism numbers and spending’.

‘I think the Games spread a very positive message about Glasgow. And Scotland. I'd never been to Glasgow before (I live in Cornwall) but have been back twice to visit since’.

Here, the use of the Games in Glasgow is consistent with Gratton et al.'s (2001) suggestion that the concept of using major events as a re-imaging platform is utilised within many UK cities as part of their tourism and regeneration strategy. Garcia (2004, p. 104) suggests that the popularity in using major event this way stems from their ability to effectively ‘merge tourism strategies with urban planning and can boost the confidence and pride of the local people’. This can be seen to produce a positive reputational shift. Literature gathered by Glasgow City Council (2015) suggests that while there is minimal data to confirm a long-term tourism boost as a result of hosting a major sporting event, a number of host nations and cities have reported an enhancement to their profile and reputation. The data collected for this study suggests that there has been a welcome change in Glasgow’s national reputation. This was indicated by the responses from the majority of community members and employees who were interviewed as well as volunteer survey respondents. In addition, the majority of participants in this research reported to have felt an improvement in Glasgow's reputation. Clark and Kearns (2015) suggest tourism and image boosting results are often cited as an outcome from an increase in reputation from hosting a major event; therefore, the data collected in study argues possible benefits such an increased tourism (Horne 2007) and image enhancement (Salisbury 2016) often cited amongst scholars as major event goals (Clark and Kearns 2015; Preuss 2015). Furthermore, the post-Games report published by Glasgow City Council in 2015, found similar results to suggest a positive change:

‘Evidence from the Nations Brand Index (NBI) shows that international awareness of Scotland rose from 62% in 2012 to 65% in 2014. Scotland’s score rose overall and on each

of six domains measured. This is the first time there has been an improvement in the Scottish data since it was first collected in 2008. It is plausible that the Games contributed to this boost in international reputation. Glasgow's international profile as a host city of 5 international sporting events has risen since 2010. In 2014, Glasgow was ranked eighth best sports city in the world in the Ultimate Sports Cities Index' (Glasgow City Council 2015, p. 4-5).

And,

'The overall evidence from the NBI is that international perceptions of nations are, in the main, remarkably stable and small shifts in score are considered evidence of a change in reputation' (Glasgow City Council 2015, p. 68).

Therefore,

'Given the timing of the fieldwork, and the high global broadcast audience, it is likely the XX Commonwealth Games contributed to this boost in international reputation' (Glasgow City Council 2015, p. 110).

The findings from Glasgow City Council's research (as above) are aligned with research completed by Woodall et al. (2015, p. 45), detailing the experiences and impacts of volunteer applicants for the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. Key themes from Woodall et al.'s (2015) findings suggest Clydesider volunteers reported a positive reputation change including new perception of Glasgow and attitudes towards the city as vibrant, welcoming and modern destination. Findings from the data collected for this thesis confirm Woodall et al.'s (2015) conclusion relating to reputational improvement. Changes in the image, status and sense of place of a host city are integral to the categories in which Minnaert (2012) suggests social impacts may occur, and, therefore, the way in which social impacts in this chapter are analysed to determine the potential route to social legacies. Thus, a key social impact from Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games reported in the data collected for this research is the perceived reputational improvement of Glasgow on a national and international level.

Oshimi (2016) suggests that major events can influence travel destinations as a result of image change and place marketing, thus encouraging economic tourism impacts (Garcia 2004; Getz 2008; Anholt 2010; Minnaert 2012; McCartney et al. 2013; Thomson et al. 2013).

While tourism enhancements and international image improvements are often cited as host city aspirations, Davis (2012, p. 314 – 315) warns that first appearance may not be all that they are credited as being. For example:

'Although Barcelona has significantly increased tourism and improved its image and ranking in the European Cities Monitor from 11th in 1990 to 6th in 2002 (Gratton et al.,

2005), Gold and Gold (2011) note that prices soared and business taxes rose by 30%. Furthermore in Sydney, although official sources commissioned by the NSW government claimed that the Games would create longer term benefits to the city and country, Toohey (2008) and Mangan (2008) argue that eight years on from the Games, economic legacies from the Olympics remain contested and are far from certain'.

Similarly, there are many examples of tourism taking priority over local community needs to produce negative impacts such as displacement (Hugo and Nyaupane 2016), gentrification (Garcia 2005), social exclusion (Minnaert 2012) and congestion issues (Kim et al. 2015). Data collected from the focus groups in this study argues that while the residents did experience some inconveniences from traffic congestion and altered bus routes, the potential tourism and economic impact for a host community is reported to have went some to negate the inconveniences felt:

'P3 it was good for the shops, your wee local shops it was good for that don't normally get that number of tourists unlike the wee Scottish shops in the town, they really benefitted I think. Overall it was great, there was just a couple of wee things that could have been a wee bit better especially for the local people that had the upheaval and having so much traffic coming through, but you can't get everything can you' (Focus Group 3).

Furthermore,

'P8 During that time as well if that first time I have ever seen what looked like tourists walking down Rutherglen Main Street! And taking pictures of the surrounds, like look at that, that's brilliant!

Laughter' (Focus Group 1).

And,

'P3 I think for the tourism and the money it brought in

Majority yeah, agreement

P1 that's the kind of people that are bringing money into the city and we need things to bring money in, that's tourism and that's all we have now, we don't have manufacturing' (Focus Group 2).

The links between possible tourism impacts is aligned with findings presented by Woodall et al. (2016) concerning links made in their report between increased tourism and city reputation for Glasgow. While there is need for longitudinal data regarding tourism and economic impacts, it is argued in this research that a perceived increase in city reputation image presents potential to create a social legacy through image enhancements nationally and internationally. However, when analysing personal experiences there are multiple truths and, while the majority of findings from this study have been positive, there were a few neutral or negative responses with a small number of stating they felt no impact. For example:

P1: I thought it was really fantastic, it showed the world what Glasgow looked like. I thought the cycle run showed you some lovely bits of Glasgow – Cathkins Braes.

P2: I don't think we've benefited.

P3: Do you not? I think socially we have, financially I don't know.

P2: Nah I don't think so.

P3: I think socially we have because the atmosphere in Glasgow city centre was out of this world and the people that were helping were absolutely tremendous and there just seemed to be a happy feeling, with the added advantage of the weather, the weather was tremendous.

P4: Even the procession, the day the year after up here was good.

P3: The anniversary.

P2: But it was the volunteers, the officials and the legacy that was meant to be for Glasgow is non existent.

P3: Well I think the world now knows Glasgow' (Focus Group 3).

The above quote display a conversation of mixed feelings from a focus group. While the majority is positive, it is evident that not every community member felt the host organisations were responsible for the atmosphere around Glasgow. Likewise, doubts surrounding an economic legacy were voiced within focus groups. Interestingly, while doubting the financial benefits, the participants did acknowledge that 'the world now knows Glasgow', highlighting potential reputational legacy. However, Woodall et al. (2015) suggests, despite positive indications, further research is needed to test links between reputation and tourism increases. Hence, while Glasgow has produced promising results thus far, continually monitoring and further longitudinal research is needed to gauge a definite long-term reputational legacy.

8.3 Civic pride

Increasing civic pride from major events is a common ambition of host cities (Minnaert 2012; Li 2013) and is often cited alongside volunteering (Sadd 2010), increased social capital (Sherry et al. 2011), regeneration (Avraham 2004; Gratton and Preuss 2008), tourism (Garcia 2004; Kim et al. 2015), sporting success (Pawlowski et al. 2014), reputation (Kaplanidou 2012) and well-being (Kristiansen et al. 2015). Leopkey and Parent (2012, p. 932) included 'personal and community wide feelings of national pride, enthusiasm and emotions' in their psychological legacy theme. Gratton and Preuss (2008, p. 1928) discuss events at an emotional level, suggesting, 'the pride of hosting such an event creates local identification, vision and motivation'. Local pride from hosting

an event remains under researched (Kristiansen et al. 2015). Pawlowski et al.'s (2014) results show that while sporting success does increase national pride, it does not have an impact upon subjective wellbeing; rather, it is attendance of sporting event that is positively associated with increased happiness and, therefore, subjective wellbeing. The findings in Pawlowski et al.'s (2014) study challenge presumptions of improved wellbeing for the host nation often cited within policy discourses. Kavetsos (2012) also reported that sporting success does not improve subjective wellbeing; however, Pawlowski et al. (2014, p. 130) does suggest that since their 'research and the literature reviewed earlier identified subjective wellbeing gains from mass sports participation', major events remain a potential way to improve the host nations subjective wellbeing, but it must be informed and clear. Cleland et al.'s (2015) HIA research concerning Glasgow did find a slight improvement in civic pride regarding participants' local areas post-Games in addition to neighbourhood quality and attractiveness.

Similarly, the majority of interviews mentioned pride as an impact of Games in this study. For example, an interviewee from a Games organisation stated:

'Community wise in relation to the rest of the games, I imagine Glasgow as a community are quite proud of it because it was successful, they are living examples of People Make Glasgow and the impact that has on the way people treat people in Glasgow and Glasgow Life'. (IP3)

And,

'It was about this sense of community supporting people when they came into the city and giving them that be proud of your city be proud of Glasgow but I think it already exists, its already there and that's why it was so successful because people came in and felt that Scottish people are generally quite friendly and people will walk up to people and they want to help them out most of the time. I would say the Games probably just enhanced that, I don't think it changed it, it probably made it better'. (IP3)

When examining the potential impact socially for Glasgow's host community within the focus groups for this research, the results were categorically similar. Examples are from all the focus groups:

'P3: Made you feel proud

All agreeing

Majority – yes, pride

P3: Proud they [other countries] were held here' (Focus Group 1).

And,

P2: We done so well on the medal tally, we were up there.

P1: everyone was just proud.

Agreement

P3: Aye, it made you proud.

P2: I was proud.

P4: Aye, that's a Scottish thing anyway, you are proud of where you come from but you kind of felt it' (Focus Group 2).

Again,

P6: Having the Games here made you feel a wee bit special, I thought.

P4: Aye.

P3 Proud to be Scottish.

P4 and Glaswegian, because there wasn't any trouble.

P3 that was the best thing about it because I think some people think Glasgow and they think trouble because of years gone by' (Focus Group 3).

The excerpt from Focus Group 2 presents possible similarities to Pawlowski et al.'s (2014) and Hallman et al.'s (2012) research regarding links between international sporting success and pride. The notion that 'doing well in the medal tally' had an impact upon the pride felt within the community would suggest a positive link with pride and home team sporting success at a major event; however, this would need further research to be validated on a larger scale.

McCartney et al. (2010; 2013) proposed that civic pride was one of the ways through which impacts were to be felt from the Games. An interview conducted with a public sector organisation about the Host City Volunteer programme suggests these predictions were accurate:

'Definitely around things like civic pride has been a big one and that's what we were trying to do as well, Glasgow is quite often in the headlines for wrong reasons health stats and all the rest of it, but I guess what it did really do is give people that buzz and sense of pride in the city, you could really sense that at the time of the Games but also talking to people post games they can reflect on that as well' (IP14).

Furthermore, authors such as Chalkley and Essex (1999), Garcia (2004; 2005) and Gratton and Preuss (2008) discuss links between event regeneration strategies and increased pride amongst the city's inhabitants. Data collected for this study demonstrates these suggested links in practice with Glasgow and its event-led regenerated areas:

‘I wouldn’t have called them slums, but they were. I moved away from it. it’s not taking the heart and soul, its giving people pride in their homes, a surrounding, the children have somewhere to go you know, the emirates for examples that’s a phenomenal venue and its open to everyone at a reasonable price and you cannot say that’s not an incredible legacy for the people who, its right on their doorstep’ (IP10).

‘I think the Commonwealth Games coming to the city gave a great boost, not just financially. People I think started to take pride in their area, I can remember not so very long ago that people hesitated to say they came from Bridgeton or Dalmarnock, they said oh I live near Rutherglen, but now there seems to be a bit more pride and the CWG its self, that 3 weeks gives a tremendous buzz to the area, we had the hockey pitch right there and this whole area was just thrilled with people all coming and going’ (IP9).

And,

‘I think Clyde Gateway have done a tremendous job, I really do ... the renovated Bridgeton Cross itself gave people pride’ (IP9).

‘P2: I think it made you feel proud from where you came from, knowing it was happening in your city, like you all said everybody was joining in.

- Do you think that feeling is still there?

P3: Aye, aye.

P4 :Aye I think so.

P3: that’s the kinda of thing for the up and coming generation, they need to be inspired because I know my generation is pig sick of the way things were growing up but why should things continue like that, they should be able to group up and say that if they can do it, I can do it but we never had encouragement when I was younger and I wish we did have.

Agreement’ (Focus Group 2).

‘It [the Games] was something we achieved and something we are dead proud of and I think every Glaswegian feels that, it’s not anything tangible and it’s a legacy you could look at and put word to but I think it’s definitely given the city such a boost, not everybody obviously but most people’ (IP12).

Overall, from the quotations above, Glasgow does appear to have increased civic pride level within the city from hosting the 2014 Commonwealth Games. This is mirrored in findings presented by Kim et al. (2015), who highlight community pride as an impact of hosting a major sporting event. An interviewee with a local authority employee suggested a reason for this may be:

‘Well, the sense of ownership of the games is absolutely crucial, unless you instil in the people of your city a sense that the games are there’s that they owned the games I think your doomed unless you do that, if people think these games are for somebody else, nothing to do with us, I think you’ve got really problems’(IP1).

This is much like a previously discussed interview that claimed, ‘importantly we made people in Glasgow fall in love with the city again and I think people have not been as engaged for a long, long time’. Again, this demonstrates similarities with Kim et al. (2015) research reporting the feeling of part of a community and part of an event presented positive social impacts. Dinham (2005, p. 302) states that the notion of instilling a sense of ownership is not an innovative concept; rather, it has roots in theory of community development where ‘participation, empowerment and ownership are seen as necessary conditions for change’. Thus, communities in deprived areas are encouraged to participate in their community for the benefit of targeting local needs and the hope of developing and sustaining multiple partners, which can support and sustain new relationships (Skinner et al. 2008). In the case of Glasgow, the areas of regeneration were focussed in deprived and neglected areas within the East End of City. Furthermore, the idea of change was a theme throughout the data collection and analysis stages and is highlighted in areas surrounding reputation and participation. Misener and Mason (2006) state that engaging with community values through the overall event hosting process provides an opportunity for the organising body to respect to the local communities input. Glasgow regeneration agency, Clyde Gateway placed a huge amount of importance upon community consultations and input in plans to ensure the community felt listened to and respected. This was especially evident in the renovation of Bridgeton Cross. The project at Bridgeton Cross was a community initiated and led regeneration project which increased pride and involvement in the area. Kim et al. (2015) suggests a sense of being part of a community from hosting a major sporting event promotes community harmony and inclusion. An interviewee from a local authority partnership organisation stated:

‘So we came up to the local community and said we will do something with Bridgeton Cross, this in a sense was the game changer for Clyde Gateway initially as an organisation. They wanted Bridgeton Cross, which looks completely different today to what it did 6/7 years ago, completely rundown, needing a huge amount of investment, what we actually said was right we will set aside a couple of million pounds to do Bridgeton Cross but how about this, why don’t you guys design it? We will set up a team of professionals, architects, engineers, designers and so on, but why don’t you guys come in form a steering group and you tell them what is it you want to see featured in there. So when held a 2d exhibition in an empty office across the road and we were overwhelmed at the amount of people that showed up, we are talking over 300 hundred people came through the door, which was unheard of out here, from school kids to pensioners everything in between. Everyone had their opinion and we took that forward to the design team and got the local people, and in the end we delivered what local people were looking for’ (IP4).

Here, the impact of building a relationship with communities and enabling a partnership is evident. It is also consistent with Gursoy and Kendall’s (2006) recommendations to utilise a more

on-traditional way of engaging with a community to enable wider community discussions over perceived positives and how to reduce the potential negative consequences. While research supports that quick planning decisions may be necessary, without due public involvement and participation, these decisions can weaken the predicted event regeneration outcomes and undermine civic agendas (Balsas 2004). Thus, this highlights an ultimate aim for sustainable social outcomes in order to develop a sense of ownership within the locale (Smith 2012) and further enhances the vital opportunity that host cities hold to engage with their community (Misener 2013; Kim et al. 2015).

8.4 Sense of place and identity

The experience of hosting the Commonwealth Games in Glasgow not only had an impact upon the community members in terms of pride, but also the staff and future host cities. McCartney et al. (2013) suggest social, wellbeing and health impact can be direct results of creating a sense of identity through enabling the people and organisations to be part of the host nation. Similarly, Kim et al. (2015) recognises encouraging a sense of place within a host community as a positive social impact. An interview conducted with a local authority employee stated:

‘In the weeks after the Games I was walking through Gordon Street and a complete stranger said to me ‘I just want to thank you’, (never met the man before), ‘you must be so proud’, and yeah I am, absolutely. It is not often that a politician get complete strangers come up to them and thank them for what they done, it is very, very unusual, we got people to be proud, that was the scale of what we done. I don’t know if we will ever be able to achieve such a sense of pride again.’ (IP1).

And,

‘The Gold Coast people said to me, you’ve raised the bar, but they are up to the challenge so each time the bar gets the raised, the better it becomes for a host city, they need a sense of ownership in their citizens, they need to learn from previous experience from cities hosting these events’ (IP1).

This, again, demonstrates the importance of creating a sense of ownership for the host city’s communities. Here, the interviewee also highlights the necessity of learning from previous examples. With the rise in importance of successful legacy planning, Christie and Gibb (2015, p. 872) state, ‘the event-led regeneration legacy debate is closely related to research on understanding regeneration partnerships, governance and how policy networks can best achieve policy success’. The learning between organisations and partnerships emerged as a vital theme within the interviews. From a personal perspective, an interviewee from a local authority claimed:

‘So legacy for me is I now know how we can do things better by having a multi-agency approach than just organisations coming together as and when necessary. That’s for me a real lesson learned ... I have a better understanding about how these organisations operates and they will hopefully have a better understanding about how the council operates’ (IP1).

Here, parallels can be drawn from the research citing the importance of collaboration and stakeholder partnership within major event hosting and planning (Skinner et al. 2008; Smith et al. 2009; Swart et al. 2011; Christie and Gibb 2015). Major sporting events have the capacity to aid cooperation and direct strategies amongst different stakeholders towards a mutual cause (Hall 2006; Silvestre 2009). Previous research suggests that major events are often associated with unique funding arrangements. Due the cost and complexity of hosting these events, ‘they increasingly involve institutional developers or public-private partnerships’ (Bornstein 2010, p. 200). These partnerships are often used by governments as practical solutions to facilitate multifaceted projects (Bornstein 2010) and to justify expenditure (Reis et al. 2014; Clark and Kearns 2015); however, justification has a mixed history of realising promised benefits (Sadd 2009; Davidson and McNeill 2012). The use of major event partnerships to create new funding opportunities and yield a greater research impact is supported by the councillor when discussing a successful new collaboration:

‘We have that partnership [with the universities] up and running, it has proved to be really, really interesting. The 3 universities in the city are some ways rivals to compete for funding for things but everybody has bought into this, and they are all sharing information and outcomes of researched carried out by the individual university and so on’ (IP1).

The focus on research and recognising wider possible benefits supports Bornstein’s (2010) suggestion that mega-event organisers are becoming inclined to accommodate a wider community focus. This notion is reflected by a public sector organisation employee:

‘Glasgow in terms of the delivery partners also was a little bit different. As much as possible there was a concerted effort to try and engage partners and organisations, including Glasgow Life, through Glasgow City Council. Since a number of partners across the city would still be here after the event left town and they would still be working with communities or in urban regeneration after the event so both the social element and the regeneration elements were important. I think what’s also going to be interesting is Glasgow is going to realise more of a legacy than other cities have’ (IP13).

Further describing Glasgow’s unusual community focus through the management of Games facilities and a post-Games planning effort, the public sector organisation employee also stated:

‘It meant we managed a lot of the sporting venues across the city included Emirates, Scotstoun, Tollcross swimming pool that were utilised as games venues quite often what will happen is that the Organising Committee comes in and the normal staff leave for the

duration, they get an event management company to take over and run the whole thing' (IP13).

The approach Glasgow has taken to staffing the Games was described as one the main successes for a councillor, who explained that while the Organising Committee, Glasgow 2014 Ltd, employed a large amount of people, a vast proportion of the staff were Glasgow Life or Council staff. Therefore:

'They then come back in here and there is huge knowledge transfer from that, people are here still it the city worked delivering the games plus all our own staff' (IP1).

This approach to knowledge transfer and partnerships is encouraged by Christie and Gibb (2015), who used the Glasgow 2014 Games as a case study of successful partnership working, highlighting Glasgow as an example that can be used by and inform wider major event hosting partnerships. An interviewee with public sector organisation further supported the innovative approach Glasgow applied to establishing successful partnership in various circumstances:

'Knowledge transfers not just for future cities but for partners. In terms of our exhibition and dissemination to interested parties around the programme, about the exhibition that's being developed on a co-production process with the volunteers so we will be looking to share that experience about how it went for the volunteers and the museum colleagues for them to relinquish the control of developing an exhibition. So we want to share that with partners and within our company' (IP13).

The exhibition described above is in reference to the Host City Volunteer exhibition at the People Palace in Glasgow. This exhibition was established to provide recognition for all the volunteers. While no academic impact research has emerged regarding the Host City volunteer recognition approach, media surrounding the event suggests a positive experience. For example:

'After the Games, Jim was one of the volunteers who produced a special exhibition at the People's Palace charting the experience and memories of those who volunteered. "I really enjoyed being part of that. We all shared an amazing experience and it was great to mark that through this exhibition. Being a part of the Games has certainly made me a lot healthier in body and richer in the mind. I waited seven long years to be a part of it and it was worth every second.'" (Big Lottery Fund 2015).

Glasgow Life wanted to do something 'novel' and a 'public exhibition of their contributions', which is how the idea of hosting an exhibition came into being (IP14). This exemplifies another example of a shared experience through events. It supports the argument that research on intangible, social legacies of events continues to develop and grow in importance (Cashman 2006; Sadd 2010; Kim et al. 2015).

8.5 Summary

From the data collected, relevant themes were used to structure this chapter and enable the identification of impacts relating to Minnaert's (2012) category of image, status and sense of place. First, the key theme of reputation was interrogated to critically analyse social impacts through city branding and the perceived reputational improvements for Glasgow. Emerging from this, the Games can be argued to have had a substantial impact on the perceived national reputation of Glasgow. The data is consistent with previous research that highlights the growing trend of utilising deprived or neglected areas within a city to engage in event-led regeneration and community engagement.

Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest an increased sense of belonging and ownership of the event within the host community, and overall civic pride from the stakeholders involved as a result of the Games in Glasgow. A feeling of pride emerged from each method of data collection for this study. This theme is supported by previous research that encourages widespread community engagement and early legacy planning to allow for the development of intangible social benefits. Furthermore, this chapter highlights a potential partnership and organisational legacy from increased collaboration. Evidence of innovative partnerships is apparent within Glasgow City Council and its stakeholders; this supports research highlighting Glasgow as an example of successful major event partnership and networks. .

As set out in the previous two chapters, McCartney et al.'s (2013) conceptualisation for creating a positive legacy is detailed below (see Table 25). The section highlighted below reflects the notable levels of increased pride, reputation and sense of identity analysed from the data collected in this study concerning Glasgow as a host city. McCartney et al. (2013) proposes that this critical pathway can lead to a direct impact upon health, wellbeing and social impacts; therefore, it establishes the potential for a sustainable social legacy from a major sporting event host nation. Social impacts, such as the sense of being part of a community (Kim et al. 2015), increased civic pride (Minnaert 2012) and community building (Getz 2015), are becoming increasingly important for host cities in order to justify expenditure and act as a catalyst for urban regeneration (Smith 2012). Therefore, as proposed by McCartney et al. (2013), the critical analysis in this chapter highlights routes to generate social legacies from a major sporting event.

While not every critical pathway was examined within this thesis, it should be noted that conclusions drawn from each of the discussion chapters emphasise to some extent every critical pathway related to direct impacts upon health, wellbeing and social impacts suggested by McCartney et al. (2013). Thus, it can be suggested that the proposed pathways do provide realistic routes to generate positive social impacts and the potential to expand these pathways further to develop into sustainable social legacies.

Table 25 McCartney et al. (2013) highlighted image, status and sense of place impacts

Key ingredients for change	Critical pathway	Direct impacts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased tourism • Increased exporting of good and services (trade) • Investment in Games-related infrastructure • The opportunity cost of investment in Games-related infrastructure 	Economic growth	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Employment • Income • Equality • Service provision
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provision of new sports facilities • Inspiration (festival and demonstration effects) 	Increase sports participation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased physical activity and health
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Part of host city or nation 	Increased pride and sense of identity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health, wellbeing and social impacts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunity of volunteering at Games 	Volunteering	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increased skills • Increased future volunteering • Health, wellbeing and social impacts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • New housing • Improved urban design • Regeneration • Transport improvements 	Improved environment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Health, wellbeing and social impacts
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Various potential impacts 	Legacy programmes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Various potential impacts

9.0 Discussion – Stakeholder perceptions

9.1 Introduction

As previously examined in Chapter 2, there is a wide variation of legacy definitions and conceptualisations available (Gratton and Preuss 2008; Chappelet 2014; Clark and Kearns 2015). While research concerning legacy is a relatively recent development within academia (Cashman and Horne 2013; Clark and Kearns 2015), this development has produced an expanding interest in the need, function and nature of legacy. The issues surrounding legacy are evident in the data collected for this study; therefore, the proceeding section sets out the individual, community and organisational stakeholder's perspective on the concept of legacy. This chapter critically analyses the current issues from the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games concerning defining legacy and what impact this has on the understanding of social legacy from a range of individual, community and organisational stakeholder perspectives.

Aligned with the growing recognition of social impacts, the discussion throughout this chapter explores the key themes set out by the stakeholders when analysing Glasgow's approach to legacy planning and delivery, focusing on understanding legacy, planning for legacy and legacy implications. Guided by the emergent themes from the data, this chapter examines the creation of a partnership legacy. The notion of a partnership legacy can be seen to have grown from innovative legacy governance structures put in place by Glasgow in the early stages of legacy planning (Christie and Gibb 2015). It is suggested that the building and maintaining of such partnerships from a major event has the potential to initiate an additional type of social legacy between communities, organisations and individuals. This chapter provides an insight into the development of legacy planning for major events and the emergence of a partnership legacy from stakeholder perspectives.

Key finding: This chapter highlights the need for thorough legacy planning and stakeholder involvement. Considering different stakeholder perspectives of legacy, it is suggested that legacy understanding, while improved, still presents a level of confusion when addressing multiple stakeholders. With regard to Glasgow, the data argues that the creation of city specific partnerships present valuable opportunities for continued city development and knowledge exchange.

9.2 Stakeholder perspective

9.2.1 Conceptualising legacy

There is an enormous variation of so called legacies within the literature from sports events; however, although often used, the concept of legacy is rarely defined within academic and non-academic literature (Gratton and Preuss 2008; Chappelet 2014). With regard to Glasgow 2014, Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Government produced a Legacy Framework (2007, p. 6) five years pre-Games defining legacy as:

Legacy is the set of benefits left behind well after a major event, like Glasgow 2014, has ended. Lasting benefiting will be both tangible (e.g. job opportunities; business opportunities; new infrastructure investment), and less tangible (e.g. enhanced image; civic pride; improved health; improved community engagement).

The framework expands upon legacy to incorporate the potential for social and economic change through inspiring and motivating individual, communities and stakeholders to be involved in Games related opportunities (Glasgow City Council 2007, p. 6). The pre-Games discussion surrounding the concept of legacy suggests a movement towards defining legacy within industry documents; however, there remains a slight ambiguity due to Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Government both producing differing, although similar, legacy themes respectively. Dickson et al. (2011) suggest that the lack of any initial, satisfactory definition has led to the increase in legacy themes or categories. The documentation concerning the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games seems to present this dilemma; therefore, rather than produce a legacy definition, Glasgow City Council and the Scottish Government produce Games specific ambitions and themes. These conclusion are aligned with Leopkey and Parent's (2012, p. 932) examination of the increasing use of themes within hosting documents from the Olympic Games. The authors suggest themes are becoming progressively interconnected; similar deductions are evident from the Glasgow 2014 documents due to the themes being used to describe an overall legacy vision for Glasgow and Scotland.

The majority of interviewees mentioned some confusion around defining or quantifying legacy; for example, an interviewee from a Games organisation commented when discussing what can be attributed to legacy:

‘There's that knock on legacy, again how to quantify it, that's the problem with legacy it's difficult to quantify’ (IP3).

Similarly, an interviewee from a voluntary sector employee suggested that to conceptualise legacy, the Games in question need to undertake clear assessments and have Games-related targets:

‘Where maybe it’s a little be greyer is that I don’t think there has been a realistic assessment of what actually can a Games bring about, and what can you actually nail to the Games’ (IP2).

Here, the data collected is in agreement with Cashman and Horne’s (2013, p. 50) issues surrounding legacy governance and ‘the problem of legacy assessment’. The author suggests that while legacy governance has progressed, current issues facing successful legacy planning include monitoring, policing and research legacy management. Cashman and Horne (2013, p. 50) also present the issue of the lengthy descriptions and variety of legacies. An interview completed for this study describes the difficulties surround the diffuse nature of legacy:

‘I think the term legacy causes some confusing and the branding of legacy, I think it helps to describe it as something already exists and show how it works already ... explaining this is what happens and it’s called legacy what you are actually doing ... From my experience as soon as you mention the word legacy they think it’s something new’ (IP11).

This demonstrates a pathway taken within a community setting to avoid confusion through legacy terminology; moreover, it also provides insight into a real life example of explaining what legacy is in the context of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. Interestingly, from the data collected, the confusion around legacy was most apparent within the community setting where the focus groups were completed.

‘In all honesty, I don’t know what you mean by legacy. I don’t know what we expected the legacy to be, you know what I mean I don’t know what people are wanting the legacy to be’ (P4, Focus Group 4).

Leopkey and Parent (2012) discuss an issue of legacy is the need for it to reach a wide national and international audience; however, much like the majority of research, the data collected for this study demonstrates there remains a lack of understanding regarding the concept of legacy at a community level. Similarly, the inability to identify what changes were considered legacies from the Glasgow 2014 was also a common concern for the majority of focus group participants

‘Making sure, say that if an activity is related to commonwealth legacy, that it is explicitly explained to people, cause people don’t know what they don’t know’ (P4, Focus Group 1).

‘If that gymnastics is part of the legacy that should be advertised on it, if someone gave us money to participate in swimming or whatever its part of the legacy to know that this child is getting to join this club, rugby or chess even because then you know’ (P1, Focus Group 1).

The conversation above was a typical issue within the community members. The majority of focus group participants spoke fondly of the Games but displayed uncertainty about what could be attributed to the Games legacy.

‘Ah okay so had we not had the CWG then that wouldn’t have happened’ (P7, Focus Group 1).

‘Whats that got to do with the CWG? That’s probably what a lot of people are saying!’ (P8, Focus Group 1).

‘Yes!’ (All agreement, Focus Group 1).

Here, a long conversation followed between participants discussing Games legacies. This conversation concluded with an improved level of understanding between all members regarding what benefits can be linked to the hosting of the Commonwealth Games in Glasgow; however, the overall thoughts strongly displayed that there is a lack of clear communication, and therefore understanding, regarding legacies of the Games for the locale. Research suggests that in order to host a successful event-led major event, the potential benefits or legacy for the country and community is vital within communications (Gold and Gold 2008; Dickson et al. 2011). Similarly, Sadd (2010) states that the existing community should be central and constant to any regeneration legacy communication. Data collected in this study suggests that while the majority of community members that participated in the focus groups had a positive experience, more information concerning changes or improvement linked the Games would enable further understanding and created a more positive Games experience.

Overall, while the field of legacy research continues to witness developments in many areas, there remain discrepancies in the conceptualisation of legacy. Growth in areas such as community involvement (Preuss 2004), legacy governance (Christie and Gibb 2015), social legacy (Kaplanidou et al. 2013; Liu 2016), long-term legacy planning (Leopkey and Parent 2012; Rogerson 2016) and measuring legacies (Preuss 2007) have all established critical pathways towards understanding event legacy; however, Gratton and Preuss’ (2008) definition of legacy remains a commonly utilised conceptualisation of the notion. Findings from this study suggest that, despite developing legacy themes from a core vision, stakeholders still struggle to understanding the concept of legacy, especially at a local level. Confusion appears evident from the outset in terms of defining what legacy will mean for people, with data suggesting an grasp of the notion of a successful legacy but not entirely sure of the details or what links can be made with the Commonwealth Games.

9.2.2 Legacy planning

Examined in the literature review (see Chapter 2), planning for legacy is an emerging area of event legacy research (Cashman and Horne 2013; Christie and Gibb 2015). As previously discussed, within major event legacy implementation and planning, London 2012 is widely acknowledged as a turning point (Girginov 2012; Weed 2014, Rogerson 2016). Likewise, Rogerson (2016, p. 4) states, ‘recent research, largely but not exclusively around the London 2012 Olympics experience, has cast the spotlight on the need for deeper understanding of the processes through which event legacy is articulated and planned for in advance of the event’. This more recent research can be seen to build upon Taylor and Edmondson’s (2007) pre-London 2012 research concerning the emergence of legacy planning and the accompanying importance placed on legacy plans from both governing bodies and bidding teams. Similarly, as discussed by McGillivray, McPherson and Carnicelli (2015), debating the most appropriate legacy approaches for before, during and after the Games is a very current conversation. The authors state that sporting and cultural events are a useful tool to encourage transformations and change city perceptions of host cities and countries; however, the use of events is disputed and questions are often raised about the significance of such events and who the real beneficiaries are if not the people and places impacted by their delivery (McGillivray et al. 2015). As a means to evaluate event-led regeneration legacy governance, Christie and Gibb (2015) provide six crucial elements for securing effective partnerships: ‘the pooling of resources and shared agendas, leadership, community engagement, mutual learning, accountability and trust (Christie and Gibb 2015, p. 883). The authors summarise their findings by presenting Glasgow as example of successful event-legacy planning and governance to educate future host cities. The following section of this discussion presents the data collected for this study as evidence to further inform legacy planning governance and delivery.

In the context of Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games, Rogerson (2016, p. 7; Commonwealth Games for Scotland 2007) refers to the table from the Glasgow bid document to aid in framing in Glasgow position within current major event legacy research (see table 26).

Table 26 Glasgow's legacy approach

Creating local benefits	Legacies for organisation and people	Supporting Commonwealth Games concept and ethos
Refurbished and new sports facilities	For the athletes – a successful Games in which their performances meet their aspirations and they take away positive memories of competing in Scotland	Shared vision with the CGF for a unique, friendly, world-class event
Opportunities to promote active participation in sport/physical activity leading to more healthy lifestyles	For the CGF – a successful Games on which further consolidation and development of the Games and its influences can be based	World-class venues for the Games and a legacy for the community
New skills and other educational benefits	For the Commonwealth Games Associations (CGAs) – a successful Games and a new programme of targeted sports development assistance for nations and territories	The Games being central to economic, social, cultural and environmental development of the city and country
Better transport infrastructure	For the Commonwealth Games Council for Scotland – a successful games and further improvement to participation and performance in Scottish sport	A sustainable approach to all infrastructure provisions
Wide-ranging environmental improvements	For the city – a successful Games and a significant regeneration of the East End of Glasgow, making effective use of otherwise derelict land and creating employment opportunities for local people	Committed and tangible benefits to the CGAs
More jobs	For the country – a successful games promoting economic development in the short term, for example, through increased tourism and through a longer term change in perception which will attract inward investment	Development of the Games and the brand of the CGF
Improved stock of housing	For those individuals helping to organize the Games (whether officials, administrators or volunteers) – a successful Games, personal	Staging of the Games will contribute to the continuing regeneration of the city

	development and self-fulfilment	
Opportunities for self-development through volunteering for the Games and future sports events		Unprecedented local and national support
Unprecedented local and national support		

(Rogerson 2016, p. 7)

Rogerson's (2016) findings suggest Glasgow approached legacy from a much more structured angle. Moreover, this approach represented a considered attempt to 'ensure that many faces of legacies are well planned, visible and monitored than has been used in previous mega-events' (Rogerson 2016, p. 8). Christie and Gibb (2015) suggest that the structured approach to legacy take by Glasgow emphasises the need for accountability, access to resources, shared learning and community involvement. This approach was managed through a 'complex governance network' (Christie and Gibb 2015, p. 879), which takes into consideration complex dynamics within multi stakeholders and differing strategies and overall represents the Glasgow Legacy Framework (GLF).

These findings are supported with the data collected for this study for an interview with a voluntary sector employee:

'I think from the outset, I'd like to commend the Scottish Government for having the foresight to have Shona Robinson as a dedicated minister for the CWG and she saw that through and gave personality and political weight behind how important these games were. So that personal spearheading of things and her influence over sportScotland and young engagement, she really gave meaning to legacy in a way that London never came close to actually. So we've had this twin track thing about delivering the games but also genuinely delivering a legacy as well' (IP2).

Here, the interviewee credits the innovative approach to legacy planning; therefore, emphasising what the Commonwealth Games Federation now acknowledge as the 'Glasgow approach' (Rogerson 2016, p. 16). The notion of legacy accountability was present in more data collected, notably from an interview with Glasgow Centre of Population Health regarding their thoughts on regeneration legacy:

'I think it's been exceptional, really, really good and part of that is from having champions which were really bolshie and pushy and keep getting in people face and asking what have you done about this so there is some sort of accountability for different partners and they may not like it that much but it gets it done' (IP8).

This interviewee presents the need for major event hosts to have a visible point of contact for legacy decisions, both for the communities affected and for the purpose to ensure each stakeholder takes responsibility for their part in Games delivery. Rogerson (2016), when describing the approach Glasgow took to legacy planning, places direct importance on the ability to create accountability and responsibility. Despite Table 24 above appearing to disregard potential negative impacts, the increased emphasis on Games responsibility is demonstrated by literature reviews produced by Legacy 2014 (2009; 2014) that set out not only positive legacies but include potential unintended or negative consequences of the Commonwealth Games in Glasgow. Crucially, the recognition of negative legacies demonstrates a further development within legacy understanding and transparency from a host city often overlooked with Games planning documents (Cashman 2006; Dickson et al. 2011).

Furthermore, Rogerson's (2016, p.12) research presents 'three key elements of an innovative approach to legacy creation' from Glasgow's method of legacy planning. Outlined by the author, a key element to Glasgow's approach was that the responsibility for managing the build was placed upon Glasgow City Council. This allowed for a long-term, holistic view of legacy planning to be designed for the city and enabled a level of local ownership over spending. More commonly amongst major events, the legacy leadership role is combined within the OC's remit or contracted to a specific development organisation. Leopkey and Parent (2012) highlight the outsourcing of legacy planning as an issue for post-Games legacy planning since Organising Committee's are a temporal structure quickly disbanded post-Games and legacies require a much longer time to evaluate. Therefore, unlike the approach taken by London or Delhi (Girginov 2013), Glasgow's method demonstrates original thinking to aid future legacy evaluation and design. The data collected from this study further emphasises that this was a crucial decision for the majority of interviewees in advancing the field of major event legacy planning and delivery.

Furthermore, the targeted East End regeneration managed by Clyde Gateway allowed an inclusive approach to regeneration that incorporated the development of the village in the holistic legacy plans managed by a partnerships consisting of both national and local governmental bodies (Rogerson 2016). Rogerson (2016, p. 13) states that this embedded legacy planning has enabled the regeneration to focus on not merely a sporting venues but on a wider neighbourhood improvements including, 'Glasgow's first central heating plant and district heating system which provides electricity and heating to the village but will link in future to the surrounding areas'. Similarly, the final element to Rogerson's (2016) findings concerns the overall community focused

intentions Glasgow approach to legacy creation. The notion of building for the future community is mirrored in the data collected in this study. An interview conducted with a social research organisation emphasises the pre-emptive approach implemented in Glasgow:

‘I think for Glasgow, what’s different is there has been a concerted effort. Between Glasgow City Council and Scottish Government both saying, they didn’t like what they heard [about major events not creating a legacy] but they took steps to try and ensure there would be some sort of lasting impact on the residents in Glasgow and Scotland and that’s still ongoing. There was a legacy team that was formed they were very proactive in ensuring people were talking about it, per say, aligning it with different things like within school etc. etc. There’s a possibility, it will definitely have an impact upon people in Glasgow, it certainly has had an impact on people in the East End, they had been neglected for a long time’ (IP8).

Similarly, an interview conducted with a public sector organisation employee praises the innovative concept of planning for legacy demonstrated with Glasgow 2014’s delivery:

‘I think this is [legacy planning] really important. In terms of legacy I think it shows, to get any kind of legacy you need to plan it. All the evaluation and research that has been done, that was absolutely planned in the beginning. We would do that for reason that we can demonstrate that this made a difference already in terms of the objectives that we set and that we can see there has been legacy already. There will be ongoing legacy because I always say, even the way we did the bid, the collaborative way with a whole number of partners, even if we had not been successful we would have still had legacy in terms of the way people worked together for the first time’ (IP13).

This collaborative approach to legacy is aligned with Preuss’s (2014) conclusions, which state that to create a sustainable legacy, a holistic approach must be taken when considering an improved quality of life for the host community. While other studies of major events propose uncertain legacies for host cities and communities (Chappelet 2012; Davies 2012; Stevenson 2012), Rogerson’s (2016, p. 13) findings claim that Glasgow has elements of success that ‘provide markers of how it has been possible in advance of a major event to plan and deliver some meaningful aspects of legacy’. These findings are mirrored in the above excerpts from interviews conducted for this study. Christie and Gibb (2015) present Glasgow as an example of successful major event legacy partnerships; therefore, it agrees with previous studies recommending informed partnerships and collaborations to ensure a sustainable, knowledgeable legacy plan (see Skinner et al. 2008; Smith et al. 2009; Swart et al. 2011; Smith 2012; Christie and Gibb 2015). Relevant to Glasgow’s approach of event-led regeneration, Bornstein (2010) argues that host cities are frequently taking into consideration community needs. Rogerson (2016) suggests that by expanding the legacy imperative beyond the Games time, especially when taking an event regeneration approach, enables deeper community participation and involvement in the event and

its potential legacies. An interview conducted with a public sector organisation provides insight into how communities have benefits from wider opportunities and careful planning:

‘What’s important is local communities are applying for lottery money which have never applied before. I mean the amount, we were now working with those organisations to make sure they continue so it became a vehicle, an incentive a motivator, a platform for people to be able to do thing they had never done before. The real key about legacy is that you can’t let any of that drop, the really important bit it, oh great we’ve done it lets sit back, you have to get right back in there and continue to work with them’ (IP13).

While it is not unheard of for Games to have future plans, e.g. London 2012 and Barcelona 1992 (Sadd 2010), there are, however, challenges faced by organisations to be able to continually commit future resources into legacy outcomes (Rogerson 2016). Data in this study suggests Glasgow is committed to realising future legacies from hosting the Commonwealth Games:

‘Well I think what really is unique about Glasgow 2014 is that legacy, we had begun to secure the legacy of the game long before the Games took place. We opened up all the Council run facilities that would be used during the Games at least a year before the Games meaning that people from Glasgow could use these facilities before the elite athletes would, unlike most other games I know of. What that did was it brought a real sense of ownership to these facilities, my mantra for years before the Games, there are new facilities being built in the city they are not being built for the Commonwealth Games they are being built for the people of Glasgow and being loaned for the Games’. (IP1)

The above quote is from an interview conducted with a local authority employee and highlights the forward-looking nature of the Games planning and delivery. This can be seen to draw parallel from the approach taken by Manchester when hosting the 2002 Commonwealth Games; as Gratton and Preuss (2008, p. 1930 – 1931) argue, ‘the first time in Britain that planning for the hosting of a major sports events was integrated within the strategic framework for the regeneration of the city’. With regard to Glasgow, the quotation above from a Councillor supports the notion that the facilities were for the local and national community, which demonstrates an attempt to avoid ‘white elephants’ and secure a sustained use of the facilities for the future. Glasgow’s approach to assuring the facilities are well-used included opening the doors to new and renovated stadia pre-Games. Rogerson (2016) claims there were two main benefits from the careful planned venue development. First, by using the momentum of ‘future Games venues’ (Rogerson 2016, p. 10), the benefits of easy accessibility, modern facilities were well received by local sports clubs, organisations and individuals. Second, from embedding the existence of the new facilities into the established community, the perceived detachment of elite Games venues and the local residents is reduced (Rogerson 2016). Furthermore, the management of these facilities has been integrated into the city’s broad sport and cultural organisation, Glasgow Life, something that Rogerson (2016, p. 10)

suggests allowed ‘a sense of community ownership and enabled the marketing of facilities to be connected with the city’. Aligned with Preuss’ (2007, p. 217) acknowledgement that the majority of major events investing in a top-down legacy evaluation fail to produce to results, this study and other research are in agreement with Preuss’ solution that to encourage successful outcomes, legacy must be planned and approached ‘based on the long-term development plan for the city’. Furthermore, the data presented here displays the growth in sustainability led event planning, as discussed by Leopkey and Parent (2012), which takes into consideration long-term city planning and the community needs throughout the construction of new facilities. Liu (2016) suggest this is aligned with the development reflected in academic literature, which has seen the sole importance move away from purely event outcomes to incorporate legacy evaluation and sustainable development elements.

The sense of best practice concerning specific elements of legacy planning in Rogerson’s (2016) findings is echoed throughout the interviews for this study. An employee from a voluntary sector organisation commended the governmental leadership to planning for legacy outcomes:

‘Another strength I would say is the interest from the Government and ensuring there was a proper measuring framework for what legacy would be. That has been really excellent, there was very thorough work done on what evidence of legacy had there been in other places and that fitted into the programme for Government around welfare and healthier, smarter, so it was good alignment with that and there’s been a lot of notable successes that have already happened, e.g. the sporting legacy hubs in Scotland and also Clyde Gateway and investment there’ (IP2).

Here, the data collected in this study supports Preuss’ (2007) recommendation that cities deciding to bid must complete thorough research in advance in order to identify gaps and all inform strategic plans. Following from the example set by London 2012 as a concentrated instance of legacy planning, Glasgow and the Commonwealth Games can be seen to further the development of legacy planning discussed by Leopkey and Parent (2012, p. 938) to now include post-Games elements in the bid stage reflecting, ‘the change from thinking about legacy post-Games and post-bids to planning for it pre-Games is one of the most significant evolutionary adaptations in the governance of legacy within the modern Olympic Games’. In addition to this, the data in this study reinforces with Liu’s (2016, p. 2) research stating that there is growing recognition of the importance of community support and ‘local residents in the city are not only the key audience but also the cores of event’s sustainability’. The importance in community-centred legacy planning is represented throughout the data collected in this study. Interviewees from each organisation

contacted spoke of the importance placed in community development and support pre-, during and post-Games.

An interviewee from the East End of Glasgow described her experience of the planned regeneration effort surrounding the Commonwealth Games as:

‘Planned legacy is incredible, I’m from the east end of Glasgow and seeing the changes that are remaining and it wasn’t just a façade to be pulled down. It has been phenomenal, and a lot of people might say ‘oh but the tenement life’ and all the rest of it, I find that, personally, rubbish because it’s the same people with the same heart and soul just in better housing, better conditions, better surroundings’ (IP12).

This is an example of the potential movement away from previous research as concerns regarding the use event-led regeneration such as merely ‘smokescreens’ hiding the real problems (Smith 2012) or a way to ‘gloss over’ the structural issues (Mooney 2004) to a way to provide a sustainable solution to post-industrial city issues.

Therefore, the data collected in this study highlights the importance of planning and supports Cairney et al.’s (2015) recommendation that to realise sustainable regeneration and the effective use of facilities post-Games, planning is essential.

9.2.3 Implications

While one example of major event legacy planning and governance cannot be taken in isolation, previous research and the data collected in this study suggests innovative developments within legacy generation and major event management (Rogerson 2016). When considering lessons learned for Glasgow, from an interview with a local authority, there is an emphasis on the potential impact for the city from stronger working relationships and partnerships:

‘For me, having a better understanding of partnership working. So legacy for me is I now know how we can do things better by having a multi-agency approach than just organisations coming together as and when necessary. That’s for me a real lesson learned’.
(IP1)

Here, the real future implications for Glasgow’s event hosting approach is aligned with the growing body of research highlighting the importance of strong collaborations and networks (Skinner et al. 2008; Smith et al. 2009; Swart et al. 2011; Christie and Gibb 2015). The multi-agency approach mentioned in the above quotation mirrors the research by Bornstein (2010), which suggests the

practicality of such an approach to manage complex projects. While research suggests a mixed history in realising promised benefits despite building networks between stakeholders (Sadd 2009; Davidson and McNeill 2012), the data collected during this research is in agreement with Christie and Gibb's (2015) conclusion that Glasgow has produced a successful example of partnership development and sustainability, therefore, informing broader working relationships city wide. The element of building such stakeholder relationships is said to be a legacy in itself for the future of the host city (Li 2013). Therefore, this research would suggest additional elements added to Table 24 (Chapter 8, p. 199) of partnership legacy as a local benefit creating legacies for organisations and people alike.

Evidence suggests a growing recognition of the importance of social dimensions to legacy planning, much like the similar acknowledgement apparent within the wider development of legacy implementation (Cashman 2006; Sadd 2010). A community and social focus is evident in Glasgow in each element of bidding, legacy themes, regeneration and post-Games planning (Clark and Kearns 2015). From the data collected, an interview with a social research organisation employee recommends that in order for cities to achieve a social dimension to legacy, planning is essential:

‘Start planning early, as far as if you want to have an impact socially do it 5 years before the event starts and get things on the ground and get it moving’ (IP8).

Liu (2016) similarly emphasises the significance of sustainable legacy planning from the beginning stage of an event in order to create realistic programmes. Conclusions from this study overwhelmingly agree with the notion of early legacy planning. Importantly, and perhaps surprisingly for some participants, is the impact that it can have on creating a partnership legacy. Aligned with socially focused research, the ability to create strong partnerships within host cities should not be overlooked. By establishing a robust, working relationships across organisations, communities and individuals, a real and powerful sense of ownership is achievable, as witnessed within Glasgow's approach to legacy planning. While legacy research highlights the potential for unplanned legacies, in the case of Glasgow, although guided through new and established network development, the preliminary findings in this research highlight the potential with host cities to create a partnership legacy that is wide reaching and sustainable. Socially, creating trusted networks between communities and city governance organisations can provide opportunities to increase a sense of ownership, develop social capital and enhance civic pride (Minnaert 2012). Hendriks and Toepoel (2013 p. 112) support this by defining social capital as the group norms and social networks ‘which enable people to trust and cooperate with each other and via individual or

group can obtain certain advantages'. Trust and cooperation, in terms of event regeneration, is paramount between event planners and local business and host communities (Lassila et al. 2013). Further research is needed to examine the links between increased social capital and a Games partnership legacy; however, findings from this study do present encouraging results as to the impacts of creating trusted, strong relationships with a city (Christie and Gibb 2015).

9.3 Summary

Building from the identified social impacts relating to individuals, communities and image, status and sense of place, this chapter argues that Glasgow presents a strong example of legacy planning development from a host city perspective. This is vital element when considering the creation of a social legacy from social impacts, thus this chapter has presented crucial elements in the understanding of legacy planning implementation. Moreover, this chapter identifies Glasgow's contribution as a host nation to the complex and multifaceted nature of legacy, as well as, recognises the developments in legacy planning plans and governance concerning a major sport event.

First, consistent with Dickson et al. (2011) and Thomson et al. (2013), the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games can be seen to support the trend of providing a legacy definition through legacy themes and categories, to support the wide and complex nature of legacy (Preuss 2015). Similarly, the wide range of legacy documentation published by Glasgow and its related legacy partners demonstrates an advancement in legacy recognition and understanding. This enables a wider discussion around what is legacy and how it can be encapsulated in a definition, as described by Preuss (2015, p. 647) as, the 'elements of a definition of legacy'. On balance, however, the vast amount of legacy documentation and literature does present an argument for further confusion when discussing what legacy means for each stakeholder (Leopkey and Parent 2012). The findings highlighted in this chapter suggest that while legacy might be better understood at an organisational or management level stakeholder perspective, the community members still reported confusion and uncertainty about what legacy means for them and if it would have any future impact.

With increasing interest in a holistic approach to legacy planning, there seems to be a growth in the importance of social aspirations and change aligned with the emergence of socially focussed legacy aims (Leopkey and Parent 2012; Smith 2012; Minnaert 2012; Pavoni 2015). With regard to providing stakeholder perspectives of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games, it is suggested

Glasgow demonstrates host cities must approach legacy planning that suits their city and sets out relevant overall goals from hosting the major event (Smith 2007). While there is an argument that legacy still must be clearer, there are evident advancements in the use and application of legacy as a concept to gain specific development for the host community.

10.0 Conclusion

10.1 Introduction

The focus of this research has been to determine if the creation of a social legacy is achievable by hosting a major event. Central to the aim of this study has been to explore the concept of legacy and the current application of the concept in a social context with a focus on the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. The case study undertaken employed a mixed methods design and sought to provide answers to the key questions raised in the introduction chapter regarding potential means of developing a social legacy from major sporting events' social impacts. Through a thorough review of relevant literature, consideration has been given to Minnaert's (2012) social impact categories of individual impacts, community impacts and image, status and sense of place to provide a consistent framework to build upon for development when discussing possible social legacy creation. Data was applied to these themes in order to develop depth of discussion within each category. Combined with Minnaert's (2012) categories, this thesis has considered McCartney et al.'s (2013) pathways for generating positive legacies, specifically, expanding on the critical pathways proposed to generate positive health, wellbeing and social impacts. Due to the exploratory nature of this study, both frameworks from McCartney et al. (2013) and Minnaert (2012) have provided structure to examine the main themes emerging from the data and enabled a holistic investigation of possible pathways towards social legacy.

This chapter seeks to place the concept of social legacy firmly in the forefront of future event management research by summarising the main themes of the research in correlation with the study's objectives as well as reviewing the contributions made to knowledge in this field. Drawing from the evidence in analysis Chapters 6, 7 and 8, this chapter presents concluding remarks recognising the importance of understanding social impacts prior to realising social legacies. Furthermore, this chapter analyses best practice implications for future host cities. Areas for further research within event legacy are highlighted and an overall reflection of the research undertaken is provided.

10.2 Summary of main themes

The aim of this thesis has been to highlight social impacts and explore the areas in which potential social legacies could be realised by a host city. In order to fulfil the aim of this study, categories of

social impacts related to individuals, communities and image, status and sense of place were utilised as a structure to determine pathways to create social legacies. The data collected was applied to the categories and, from this, the emerging social impacts produced themes to critically analyse the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games in order to highlight social legacy creation possibilities. Key to the understanding of social legacy was the prior identification of social impacts. It is argued in this thesis that social impacts must be recognised as the initial stage of social legacy understanding with a view towards the creation of longer term social legacy. The keys findings in this thesis are discussed in detail in following sub sections as well as in relation to the research objectives below in Table 27.

Table 27 Completion of research objectives

Research Objective	Completion of objective
To critically analyse the development and significance of event legacy with particular reference to social impacts	A thorough literature review was completed examining event legacy development and significance within major events, particular reference was paid to social legacies and the legacy development within the Commonwealth Games. In doing so, social impacts were highlighted as vital components towards the creation of social legacies.
To consider the social impacts for individuals, communities and organisations from the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games	Data collected from interviews, focus groups and an online surveys represented each category of individuals (volunteers, community members, legacy planning organisation employees), communities (residents, volunteers, community organisation staff, legacy planning organisations) and image, status and sense of place (residents, legacy planning organisations, community organisations) in order to explore each category from different stakeholders' perspectives and consider the potential social impacts.
To examine potential pathways to create social legacies from identified social impacts	By examining the reviewed literature and the analysed data, social impacts relevant to the Glasgow Commonwealth Games were identified as key themes and pathways towards creating a social legacy from a major event. The themes were examined to establish their social legacy potential for each category. First, social legacies from

	volunteering opportunities including wellbeing improvements, skill development and building social capital, were highlighted as key pathways for individual social legacy creation. Next, it was found that community social legacies have the potential to be created by encouraging community engagement and ownership of the event planning and associated events regeneration. Social capital development at a community level was also highlighted as a potential social legacy from hosting a major event. Furthermore, urban regeneration and reputation change were highlighted as potential pathways to encourage social legacies from hosting a major event such as an increase in civic pride and sense of identity. In addition, social legacies such as partnership creation across the host city, as a result of expanding networks and improved relationship, was also notable as a route to generate a social legacy.
To establish good practice and present successful examples to provide valuable policy support for future host cities	A working definition of social legacy is provided. Also, a framework for examining social impacts in relation to major sporting events has been developed.

10.2.1 Individual impacts

The growing importance placed on generating social legacies from hosting a major event is evident (see Cashman 2006; Sadd 2010; Minnaert 2012; McCartney et al. 2013; Rogerson 2016). This study has demonstrated the ability major events have to create a social legacy at an individual level. It is argued that volunteer programmes pursued in conjunction with major events are an avenue where social legacy has genuine potential to be considered sustainable and positive. This is consistent with the critical pathway proposed by McCartney et al. (2013), which states Games volunteer opportunities have the potential to generate health, wellbeing and social impacts, as well as increased skills and future volunteering intentions. This research proposed a significant increase in self-reported overall wellbeing post-Games, with particularly large increases in confidence in the volunteers; however, the representative sample also confirmed that people already volunteering

were more likely to participate in Games volunteering programmes and, therefore, already have a relatively high level of wellbeing.

Nichols and Ralston (2012) suggest that volunteer legacies post-Games are in need of attention to discover the potential intangible legacies. The authors suggest a lack of infrastructure put in place post-Games presents gaps in momentum from creating a large number of willing volunteers. This research presents Glasgow 2014 and Volunteer Scotland as an innovative example of volunteer legacy planning in the form of a pre-arranged data transfer (an agreement made between Glasgow 2014 and Volunteer Scotland to utilise the contact information from the people interested in Games volunteering), where Games volunteers could opt-in to receive future volunteer opportunities from Scotland's volunteering body at the point of Games volunteer registration. Consistent with previous research confirming volunteer's future intentions to continue to volunteer, this research found that the majority of participants reported they would continue to volunteer. More conclusively, over 80% had continued to volunteer at the time of completing the survey. It should be noted that a larger sample of major event volunteers may be needed for these findings to be considered representative; however, the size of the sample should not be considered as a standalone factor. Other variables, such as demographic representation, must be taken into consideration.

Minnaert (2012) proposes individual impacts could include positive increases in health impacts, mental health, skills and social capital. It is suggested by this research that by participating in volunteer initiatives, participants have developed skills and created new relationships and networks amongst a common interest group. Social capital, referring to the networks and relationships between individuals (Putnam 2000; Hendriks and Toepoel 2013), is highlighted in this research as an area of increase amongst Games volunteers. Putnam (2000) categories of bridging (or inclusive) and bonding (or exclusive) further define social capital as social capital that builds between people who are not alike in socio-demographics (Schulenkorf et al. 2011); and bonding social capital as social capital that reinforces bonds and trust within a group of people who consider themselves similar (Schulenkorf et al. 2011). It is argued that both bridging and bonding social capital is evident from the data collected. Bonding social capital is arguably most notable due to the need to have a shared experience or bond (Schulenkorf et al. 2011); Games volunteering is suggested to have enabled the building of bonding capital through the connections created amongst the volunteers. To a lesser extent, it is argued some volunteers reported an increase in bridging social capital due to the new networks created across different cultures and social circumstances.

On an individual level, it is argued that volunteering is a pathway to generate a positive social legacy, as suggested by McCartney et al. (2013). The evidence presented in this research is considered in the early stages and should be utilised as a starting point to develop possible avenues where major events can generate a social legacy in areas such as social capital, increased skills, improved wellbeing, and continued volunteering. The results in this study are consistent with the aspirational benefits proposed pre-Games by the Commonwealth Games for Scotland (see Table 24) concerning opportunities for self-development through volunteering and creation of new skills to aid social and economic development.

10.2.2 Community impacts

Community impacts related to major events are said to include social integration, enhanced social identity, community engagement and ownership (Minnaert 2012). To foster change in a host city, McCartney et al. (2013) suggest a feeling of being part of the host city and improvement through regeneration, e.g. housing, transport and urban space, as critical pathways to realising the possible health, social, and wellbeing impacts. This section is aligned with the second research objective, as above.

Building on conclusions made earlier in this thesis, it is argued that planning is essential when aiming to generate a positive legacy at a community level. Dingham (2005, p. 302) proposes that community engagement with a major event should include ‘participation, empowerment and ownership’. It is suggested that Glasgow as host city should be considered as an example of a host which focused on community consideration throughout the planning process. Specifically, this thesis argues that an awareness of the importance of creating a sense of ownership regarding the Games for the host nation at an organisational level is evident from an early stage of the planning process. Early attention to community engagement that is flexible in nature is a recommended route for host nations (Misener and Mason 2006; Gursoy and Kendall 2006; Skinner et al. 2008; Minnaert 2012). This is especially relevant in terms of event-led regeneration. Importantly, the regeneration element led by Clyde Gateway ensured the local community's needs were at the heart of the regeneration projects, rather than completely Games focused, which can lead to negative legacies, such as unmanageable ‘white elephant’ facilities (Preuss 2007; Clark and Kearns 2015). It is suggested by this research that the innovative decision to open Games facilities pre-Games presents a significant development in the understanding of embedding new and regenerated facilities into the local community to ensure future usage.

Drawing upon Coleman's (1990) theory of social capital, which encompasses the interpersonal connections among all members, it is important to recognise that social capital is not limited to a dominant class, but rather has the potential to produce meaningful benefits to underprivileged and marginalised communities (Misener 2013). The targeted regeneration in the East End of Glasgow is representative of an area of potential to build social capital through meaningful community engagement. It is argued that residents from the East End consider the engagement effort employed by Clyde Gateway to be a successful movement towards building a stronger and more involved community through event-led regeneration. This is said to be through instilling a sense of ownership and empowerment within community members to ensure a level of involvement in social and urban change. Furthermore, the reported new networks and relationships created amongst the volunteer community add to arguments that major event have the potential to build social capital within stable, engaged communities. Importantly, it should be noted that the findings in this thesis are representative of early research indicating the potential of community level social capital to generate positive legacies (Smith 2012; Minnaert 2012; Misener 2013). It is argued that through the recognition given to creating a sense of ownership, participation and empowerment present in this data, the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games can be described as a facilitator for future research concerning the potential to create sustainable, positive social legacies at the local community level. This is mirrored in wider events management literature in the movement away from solely economic impacts and economic capital to recognising the importance of social impacts.

10.2.3 Image status and sense of place impacts

Lui (2013) states that intangible benefits, such as a global image improvement and increases in civic pride, are achievable legacies for host cities through major event initiatives. Similarly, McCartney et al. (2013) highlight an increased sense of pride and identity as a key ingredient for change to realise health, wellbeing and social impacts from the Commonwealth Games in Glasgow. Minnaert (2012) presents a category of impacts related to image, status and sense of place as a key consideration to investigating the creation of positive social legacies.

It is argued that the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games has influenced the way in which the residents and organisations of Glasgow would like the world to think of Glasgow. It is suggested that communities of Glasgow are keen to shed the previous, negative image of the city and promote the welcoming, vibrant Glasgow of today. At an organisational level, it is evident that the apparent

success of the Glasgow 2014 hosting approach has increased the amount of interest concerning the hosting of future events in Glasgow. It is argued that the potential image change and, therefore, reputational legacy from the Commonwealth Games is a major element for the majority of participants in each sample of this research.

Furthermore, aligned with McCartney's (2013) pathway for generating positive legacies, it is argued that the Games engendered a large amount of pride in Glasgow. Creating a sense of pride is suggested to be vital in creating change and overall resulting in health, wellbeing and social impacts; hence, a potential social legacy from the Glasgow Commonwealth Games is argued to be increased pride in the city. With links to the partnership legacy already examined, notions of social legacy in this section highlight the potential to create a social legacy through knowledge exchange between stakeholders. This is consistent with findings reported by Clark and Kearns (2015) and highlighted as vital not only for future cities, but also the Glasgow-based Games partners who benefit from the increase in expertise.

10.2.4 Stakeholder perceptions

In order to generate positive, sustainable social legacies, research suggests strong foundations routed in collaborative planning from an early stage is essential (Skinner et al. 2008; Smith et al. 2009; Bornstein 2010; Swart et al. 2011; Christie and Gibb 2015). With that in mind, it is argued that to generate any positive legacy, it must be planned. This is aligned with the first objective of this thesis: to critically analyse the meaning and significance of event legacy with particular reference to positive social legacies. The following section presents conclusions regarding Glasgow's approach to social legacy conceptualisation, planning and partnerships from a stakeholder perspective.

The notion of legacy from a major event perspective remains largely contested with a distinct lack of evidence producing positive and sustainable legacies; however, this should not distract from the development with legacy application and conceptualisation within major events. First, the Commonwealth Games Legacy history table compiled for this study (see Chapter 2, Table 6) presents a historical timeline demonstrating the development of Commonwealth Games legacies to provide a major event perspective that is not Olympic Games focused. This timeline enabled a close examination of the emergence legacy conceptualisation and research concerning Commonwealth Games hosting and provided a sound context to explore the emergence of social

legacy from Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. The literature in the table highlighted a similar legacy interest and growth as demonstrated by other large events, e.g. Olympic Games, and can be utilised to inform future event legacy research.

Second, the emergence of legacy categories or themes (see Chapter 2) does appear to provide a more structured approach to defining legacy outcomes and their planning. The holistic nature of providing detailed legacy outcomes suggests recognition within industry professionals of the benefits associated with building and investing in strong networks and relationships between Games partners, which has been recommended within academia by authors such as Clark and Kearns (2015), Smith (2009) and Li (2013). Rogerson (2016, p. 8) highlights that Glasgow's approach 'represents a more structure approach to ensure the any facets of legacy are well planned, visible and monitored then has been used in previous mega-events'. The findings in this research are consistent with Rogerson's (2016) statement here regarding quality of approach; however, this research suggests that the approach Glasgow took is best understood at an organisational level and the complex nature of legacy planning and monitoring is largely unclear within a community member setting. Specifically, the community level research findings in this thesis argues there remains uncertainty and confusion surrounding the meaning and significance of legacy, and community members reported issues in recognising legacy projects that were a direct outcomes of the Games rather than related to other urban regeneration efforts. A reason for this is suggested by Rogerson (2016, p. 8), who found Glasgow may have difficulty in 'assessing whether "legacy projects" were separate from some existing or previously approved projects and attributing impacts and outcomes to that event'. This difficulty is consistent with the confusion expressed in this research regarding the separation between existing renewal plans and Games legacy themes, specifically between the regeneration delivered in the East End and related it to either Clyde Gateway or the Games. It is argued that the separation between such organisations is perhaps a sign of the integrated and embedded nature of the Glasgow's approach to legacy; however, this may pose a difficulty in recognising Games specific outcomes.

Lastly, it is argued in this thesis that the collaborative nature of Glasgow's approach has perhaps produced a surprisingly fruitful partnership legacy. Interviewees were unanimous in agreement about gaining a benefit from the newly established collaborations and partnerships brought about from the Games. It is argued that, while there was a concerted effort to create strong networks amongst the Games partners, the success of the partnerships and the potential future benefits created were not fully realised pre-Games. Overall, with reference to the first objective of this

thesis, while the meaning and significance of legacy remains a contentious subject, this research argues that Glasgow can be considered to add to the current literature concerning positive legacies from Games partnerships and planning (Christie and Gibb 2015).

10.3 Contributions to knowledge

The study of the social impacts related to major events, although growing in importance, has been under-researched in comparison to more tangible, economic major event impacts. This research attempts to provide a comprehensive analysis of the role of major events social impacts in creating positive social legacies. The case study completed of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games achieves this by contextualising the notion of social legacy in current theoretical considerations alongside contemporary major event policy and industry developments. Through undertaking a mixed-methods approach, this thesis presents and develops key themes in the current social legacy environment in an attempt to contribute to the emerging critical events literature and highlight possible routes for future host cities and partners to deliver successful social legacies. The entirety of social legacy implications cannot be wholly addressed by this thesis; therefore, it is presented from perspectives relating to individuals, communities and image, status and sense of place, respectively. This thesis proposes contributions to knowledge on both a theoretical and empirical basis.

First, in order to provide context to the development evident in Commonwealth Games legacy research, this research focused on an in-depth review of the history and advances of legacy outcomes from published literature on previous Commonwealth Games. This examination produced a detailed reference point stating the initial impacts discussed surrounding the Commonwealth Games from 1974 to the continued developments and inclusion of legacy trends emerging from larger events such as the Olympic Games evident in 2016. The research has created a concise timeline displaying the increase in importance of legacy, which was previously unavailable within current literature; therefore, it can be seen to add depth to the major event legacy discourse from a perspective other than the Olympic Games.

Next, Nichols and Ralston (2012) suggest the potential from Games volunteers regarding legacy is yet to be discovered. Similarly, McCartney et al. (2013) highlight that while the majority of Games volunteering research has emerged from the Manchester 2002 Commonwealth Games, there remains a gap in long-term positive impacts and wider outcomes further than re-volunteering

intentions. This research seeks to align Games volunteering research with the established body of broader volunteering literature which links volunteering and wellbeing improvements. To do so, this research employed a self-reported wellbeing scale (WEMWBS) to determine if participating in a Games volunteering programme has the potential to create an individual wellbeing impact. Notably, while this scale is widely recognised, it does not appear to have been employed with a sample of Games volunteers previous to this study. The wellbeing element included in this research provided a positive result concerning the reported increase in personal wellbeing comparing before and after participating in a Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games related volunteer programme. This research, then, can be seen to be contributing and adding depth to the understanding of major event volunteers and the potential to create a social legacy through increased health, wellbeing and social impacts previously established within volunteering more generally (see Borgonovi 2008; Secker et al. 2011; Binder and Freytag 2012). The inclusion of a targeted volunteer programme such as the Host City Volunteer programme is understood to be an innovative step towards the broadest understanding of where volunteer programmes can encourage social development. A recommendation noted in this study for future cities initiating a targeted volunteer programme is that planning must start from an early stage.

When considering the planning element of legacy, this research confirms recent research (see Misener et al. 2013, Christie and Gibb 2015, Rogerson 2016, to name a few), which emphasises the need for strong legacy planning in order to realise overall legacy aims. Furthermore, consistent with Leopkey and Parent (2016) and Christie and Gibb (2016), this thesis proposed Glasgow has the potential to create a partnership legacy grown from innovative legacy governance, collaborative working and network creation.

In addition to the contributions to new knowledge outlined above, considering the growing interest and acknowledgement of social legacy, the author proposes the following working definition:

Outwith the physical nature of tangible legacy, intentional or unintentional social legacy can be defined as all positive and negative, continual and developing social impacts affecting individuals, communities and organisations.

Overall, this research has aimed to examine the potential to create a sustainable, social legacy from hosting a major sporting event. Theoretically, this research suggests the initial pathways presented by McCartney et al. (2013) pre-Games provide a useful framework to build upon in identifying potential routes for host cities to generate positive change and legacies. Despite the limitations regarding the need for a longer-term study, the results presented throughout this thesis argue that

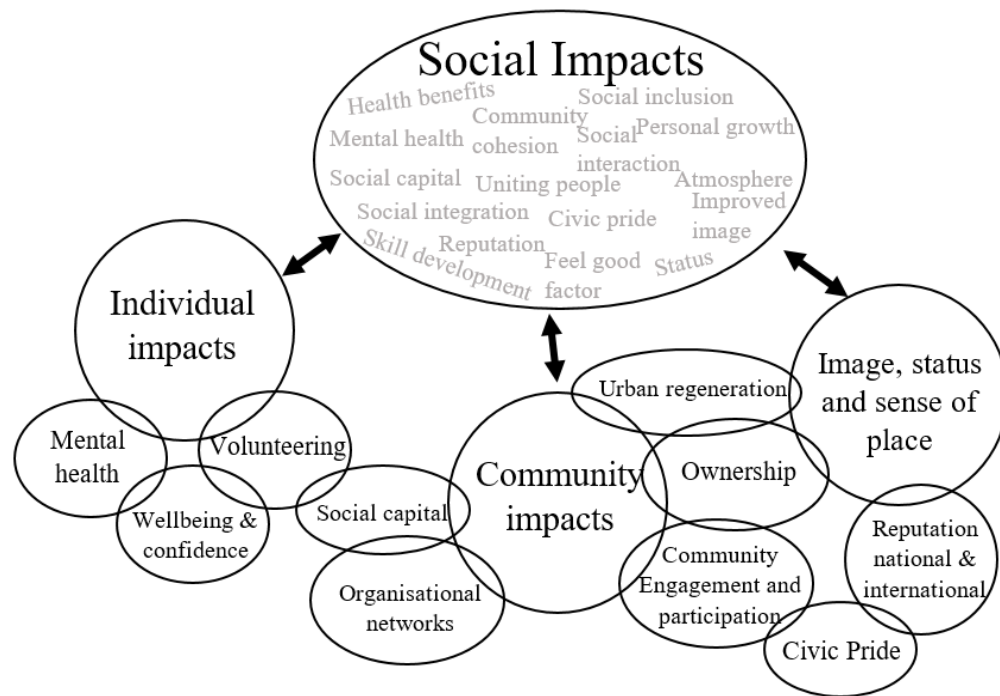
Glasgow, as a major event host city, does demonstrate areas in which a sustainable social legacy may continue to develop. Notably, advances in major event planning are evident in a number of areas including venue access, integrated legacy team, bidding awareness, community engagement and partnership creation from Glasgow's approach. Building on Minnaert's (2012) categories of social impacts, this research presents the findings discovered from this thesis applied to the categories in order to provide support for future host cities:

- Impacts relating to individuals: improvements in wellbeing, confidence, skills and social capital from volunteering, increases in expertise, event management and knowledge exchange from organisation partnerships
- Impacts relating to communities: improved civic pride, networks, shared experiences, social capital, community engagement, uniting people from a community level, volunteering impacts from shared experiences, created communities, friendship, social inclusion and social capital
- Impacts on the image, status and sense of place: enhanced image and reputation on a personal and professional city level, depth in partnership understanding, specific legacy planning and programmes

The framework presented above is argued to present social impacts relating to a wider understanding of potential social impacts demonstrating potential to create social legacies. Therefore, it is argued that this framework encourages a range of application opportunities to other major events aiming to recognise social impacts and potential route to create social legacies. Furthermore, this framework also continues to recognise the need for a structure within social impact and social legacy research; hence, expanding the categories relating to individuals, communities and image, status and sense of place to highlight a broader spectrum of potential impacts upon individuals and groups involved in hosting a major event.

It is argued that major events, such as the Commonwealth Games, do have the potential to create social legacies if careful decisions are made concerning timeliness of planning and implementation, meaningful community engagement is undertaken, and post-Games pathways are in place to allow for continued development within programmes capable of providing a legacy. The visualisation below (Figure 8) depicts the adaptation from Minnaert's (2012) framework concluded in this thesis and presents a number of social impacts narrowed into categories and combined with the findings in this thesis to demonstrate the areas of potential social legacy creation from the range of stakeholders perspectives critically analysed.

Figure 8 Potential social legacy pathways from hosting the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games



The two-fold purpose of the visualisation above (Figure 8) is provide a graphic representation of: 1) the multiple social impacts relating to hosting a major event; 2) the categories in which these impacts can be narrowed into to analysis potential pathway to create social legacies. Notably, there is some overlap between categories, e.g. social capital development was found at both an individual and community level relating to personal social capital development through enhanced networks and skills by volunteering, as well as increased organisational relationships and networks across communities involved in hosting the Games. Furthermore, this visualisation enables host cities to view key areas that present potential to create meaningful social legacies from hosting a major event that were previously less established. This is particularly relevant to the findings relating to wellbeing improvements through major event volunteering, social capital development and the perceived importance an event can play in altering national and international city reputation from a local perspective.

10.4 Implications and recommendations

The preceding analysis has highlighted a number of areas that require further examination. Notably, the purpose of this thesis has been to critically explore potential pathways of social legacy

creation; it was not to make generalisations for wider populations. Rather, this research has set out to contribute to theoretical development in an emerging field of event legacy management. Reid and Tattersall (2017) argue that for social impacts from events to be considered as legacies, attention must be paid to creating longevity or sustainability. This research reinforces the notion that social impact must precede social legacy in both planning and governance. This is reflected in the analysis of social impacts relating to individuals, communities and organisations completed in Chapters 7, 8 and 9 leading to the recommended routes of social legacy creation from highlight social impacts. Importantly this thesis frames the social legacy discussion in the understanding of social impact and the need for social impact recognition pre-Games in order to create longevity towards social legacy achievement.

In an attempt to further legacy understanding and analysis, it is recommended further research focus on the evolution of event legacy from different major event perspectives, such as other sporting events (e.g. FIFA World Cup, Rugby World Cup). The history of Commonwealth Games legacy presented in this thesis enabled a comparison with similar Olympic Games examinations in order to document the recent growth and development of the legacy rhetoric within event management and event legacy research. This is useful to determine routes for expansion and understanding within other legacy elements appropriate for future host cities, such as urban regeneration, community development, volunteering programmes. Moreover, an increase in research examining legacy development and significance from varied perspectives (e.g. cultural, environmental, political) would help to improve academic and industry understanding when considering a host-specific approach for future host cities depending on their legacy goals.

Considering the methodological approaches in this research, it is argued that a section regarding participant's location on the online survey would have allowed for further analysis into potential differences in volunteer experience within or outwith Glasgow. This could have enabled an examination concerning the national and international reach of a volunteer legacy to determine to what extent a volunteer legacy is realised away from the host city. Moreover, it is argued the online survey and use of WEMWBS would benefit from being employed before the Games, and then again after, rather than retrospectively completed by the participants. This is also true for the community member focus groups where their thoughts and experiences could have benefitted from completing more than one focus group with the same group over an extended period before, during and after the Games.

It is argued there is a need for more in-depth and long-term studies into the social legacy potential from Games volunteer programmes. The links between perceived wellbeing improvements present key research implications for future host cities to generate wider health, wellbeing and social impacts from volunteer initiatives. Moreover, the links between Games volunteering and social capital would benefit from further analysis of a larger and varied sample. It is argued that fostering social capital enables wider cultural and social understanding; therefore, it is recommended this concept is utilised to develop understanding within bridging and bonding social capital containing different community, volunteer and social groups. Overall, this research offers a baseline exploration regarding potential pathways towards creating sustainable legacies, in addition to specifically highlighting social legacy routes for host cities aiming to foster an increased in health, wellbeing and social impacts.

Furthermore, it is argued here that that Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games does present potential in the ability of host cities to create social legacies that benefit a range of stakeholders. It is recommended that to do so, host cities must engage in thorough pre-Games evaluation to determine the most suitable legacy initiatives to maximise potential successes. This research has highlighted the importance of community consultation and engagement throughout this process in order to enable appropriate Games related initiatives and help to diminish any negative consequences of hosting a major sporting event. Sufficient time and integration strategies are vital to build an informed legacy agenda in order to ensure all stakeholder responsibility and governance is well communicated.

Integral to this research has been the aim to advance the theoretical understanding of event legacy and establish ways in which major event host cities can create social legacies. Therefore, the current study presents findings highlighting the continued emergence of legacy and the growing importance of social legacy research to forward both critical event studies and host destination practices. This research builds on current frameworks to establish best practice and presents potential pathways for social legacy creation to aid with major event legacy planning, governance and delivery.

10.5 Reflection and future research

Throughout this research process, an important discussion surrounding social impacts and social legacy creation has emerged. It is argued here that vital to the understanding of social legacy

creation is the understanding that social impacts must first be recognised and explored. Therefore, this research contributes to legacy discourses by explicitly examining social impact as a key element of social legacy creation; it also further understanding in this area by presenting potential pathways to creating social legacies. To provide an in-depth analysis of social impacts, this research utilised categories of social impacts relating to individuals, communities and the host city (image, status and sense of place) provided by Minnaert (2012) and applied the evidence collected from the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. This research approach highlighted potential social legacy pathways from each category to inform future host cities' social legacy approaches, including, but not limited to, volunteering opportunities, community engagement possibilities, changes in city reputation, and enabling social capital. Since social legacy research remains as emerging and continually developing field of study, this research presents statements below outlining a future research agenda to advance this area of event management understanding.

1. Further explore links between major event volunteering and wellbeing to examine to what extent to what extent, if any, being involved in a volunteer programme has upon the volunteers lives long-term.
2. Specifically explore local community links with building and sustaining social capital to enable a community social legacy from hosting a major event.
3. Examine to what extent does hosting a major event have an impact on perceived city image and reputation from a local perspective, and what are the long-term implications of image or reputational change.
4. Further investigate organisational understanding of legacy management, specifically examining social impacts monitoring and creation leading to social legacy governance and future responsibility.

The above research statements provide a direction for future research into social legacy. This thesis examined the potential to create social legacies from hosting a major event; this research argues that legacy research continues to develop aligned with the growth in industry and academic knowledge and application of legacy planning and governance. Furthermore, this thesis presents a significant argument towards to the importance of identifying and exploring social impacts prior to social legacy in an attempt to successful manage and achieve successful, sustainable social legacies. A movement towards more innovative concepts to achieve social legacies is argued to be a key area in future event legacy research; the statements above highlight that in order to identify social impacts and achieve social legacy, the groups of people involved must be engaged in

consultation, planning, and management. This is a vital step to ensure legacies are sustainable for the intended audiences, and it is a way to better understand and plan for potential unintended social legacies from hosting a major event.

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12.0 Appendices

12.1 Appendix 1 – Participant information sheets



Queen Margaret University

EDINBURGH

Information Sheet for Potential Participants - Interviews

My name is Briony Sharp and I am a PhD student from the School of Arts, Social Science and Management at Queen Margaret University in Edinburgh. The title of my project is: The role of major events in the creation of social legacy: a case study of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games.

This study will investigate how events regeneration influences social legacy within community engagement initiatives pursued in conjunction with the Games.

I am looking for volunteers to participate in the project. There are no criteria (e.g. gender, age, or health) for being included or excluded however participants must have been/continue to be part of one and/or multiple community regeneration programmes/within a regeneration area linked to/a result of Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked to take part in an interview. The researcher is not aware of any risks associated with said interview. The whole procedure should take no longer than 60 minutes. You will be free to withdraw from the study at any stage and you would not have to give a reason.

All data will be anonymised as much as possible, but you may be identifiable from tape recordings of your voice. Your name will be replaced with a participant number, and it will not be possible for you to be identified in any reporting of the data gathered.

The results may be published in a journal or presented at a conference.

If you would like to contact an independent person, who knows about this project but is not involved in it, you are welcome to contact Dr Rebecca Finkel. Her contact details are given below. If you have read and understood this information sheet, any questions you had have been answered, and you would like to be a participant in the study, please now see the consent form.

Contact details of the researcher and independent adviser

Name of researcher: Briony Sharp
Address:
PhD Candidate
Tourism, Hospitality and Events
School of Arts, Social Science and Management
Queen Margaret University
Edinburgh EH21 6UU
Email / Telephone: bsharp@qmu.ac.uk

Name of adviser: Dr Rebecca Finkel
Address:
Senior Lecturer
Tourism, Hospitality and Events
School of Arts, Social Science and Management
Queen Margaret University
Edinburgh EH21 6UU
Email / Telephone: rfinkel@qmu.ac.uk



Queen Margaret University
EDINBURGH

“The role of major events in the creation of social legacy: a case study of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games.”

I have read and understood the information sheet and this consent form. I have had an opportunity to ask questions about my participation.

I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this study.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this study at any stage without giving any reason.

I agree to participate in this study.

Name of participant: _____

Signature of participant: _____

Signature of researcher: _____

Date: _____

Contact details of the researcher

Name of researcher: Briony Sharp

Address:

Tourism, Hospitality and Events
School of Arts, Social Science and Management
Queen Margaret University
Edinburgh EH21 6UU

Email / Telephone: bsharp@qmu.ac.uk



Queen Margaret University
EDINBURGH

Information Sheet for Potential Participants – Focus Groups

My name is Briony Sharp and I am a PhD student from the School of Arts, Social Science and Management at Queen Margaret University in Edinburgh. The title of my project is: The role of major events in the creation of social legacy: a case study of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games

This study will investigate how events regeneration influences social legacy within community engagement initiatives pursued in conjunction with the Games.

I am looking for volunteers to participate in the project. There are no criteria (e.g. gender, age, or health) for being included or excluded however participants must have been/continue to be part of one and/or multiple volunteer programmes linked to Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked to take part in a focus group. The researcher is not aware of any risks associated with said interview. The whole procedure should take no longer than 90 minutes. You will be free to withdraw from the study at any stage and you would not have to give a reason.

All data will be anonymised as much as possible, but you may be identifiable from tape recordings of your voice. Your name will be replaced with a participant number, and it will not be possible for you to be identified in any reporting of the data gathered.

The results may be published in a journal or presented at a conference.

If you would like to contact an independent person, who knows about this project but is not involved in it, you are welcome to contact Dr Rebecca Finkel. Her contact details are given below.

If you have read and understood this information sheet, any questions you had have been answered, and you would like to be a participant in the study, please now see the consent form.

Contact details of the research and independent adviser

Name of researcher: Briony Sharp
Address:
PhD Candidate
Tourism, Hospitality and Events
School of Arts, Social Science and
Management
Queen Margaret University
Edinburgh EH21 6UU
Email / Telephone: bsharp@qmu.ac.uk

Name of adviser: Dr Rebecca Finkel
Address:
Senior Lecturer
Tourism, Hospitality and Events
School of Arts, Social Science and
Management
Queen Margaret University
Edinburgh EH21 6UU
Email / Telephone: rfinkel@qmu.ac.uk



Queen Margaret University
EDINBURGH

“The role of major events in the creation of social legacy: a case study of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games”

I have read and understood the information sheet and this consent form. I have had an opportunity to ask questions about my participation.

I understand that I am under no obligation to take part in this study.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from this study at any stage without giving any reason.

I agree to participate in this study.

Name of participant: _____

Signature of participant: _____

Signature of researcher: _____

Date: _____

Contact details of the researcher

Name of researcher: Briony Sharp

Address: PhD Candidate
Tourism, Hospitality and Events
School of Arts, Social Science and Management
Queen Margaret University
Edinburgh
University Drive
MUSSELBURGH EH21 6UU

Email / Telephone: bsharp@qmu.ac.uk

infinitely grateful. Without your input my research would not be possible, and it is for that reason that I need more!

So far, my data has led me in the direction to question and provide insights into sustained volunteering after the event, increased volunteering, length of volunteering vs. impact, social benefits (meeting new friends, having new experiences), and well-being improvements. Although preliminary, these findings are very exciting for me! But, like I said, I am politely pleading for more responses.



[volunteering-3](#)

So...

Do you know someone who volunteered? Family, friends, colleague?

Please spare a couple of minutes to share my post or survey link.

<https://qmu.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/social-impact-from->

Thank you!

Social Impact from volunteering

Page 1: Participation Information Page

Information Sheet for Potential Participants

My name is Briony Sharp and I am a PhD student from the School of Arts, Social Science and Management at Queen Margaret University in Edinburgh. The title of my project is: The role of major events in the creation of social legacy: a case study of the Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games.

This study will investigate how events regeneration influences social legacy within community engagement initiatives pursued in conjunction with the Games; specifically evaluating the impact of volunteer programmes.

I am looking for volunteers to participate in the project. There are no criteria (e.g. gender, age, or health) for being included or excluded however participants must have been/continue to be part of one and/or multiple volunteer programmes linked to Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games. If you agree to participate in the study, you will be asked to take part in the following survey. The researcher is not aware of any risks associated with said survey. You will be free to withdraw from the study at any stage and you would not have to give a reason.

All data will be anonymised as much as possible, but you may be identifiable from written answers. You will be known as a participant number, and it will not be possible for you to be identified in any reporting of the data gathered.

The results may be published in a journal or presented at a conference.
If you would like to contact an independent person, who knows about this project but is not involved in it, you are welcome to contact Dr Rebecca Finkel. Her contact details are given below.

If you have read and understood this information sheet, any questions you had have been answered, and you would like to be a participant in the study, please now continue to the survey.

Contact details of the researcher Name of researcher: Briony Sharp Email:
bsharp@qmu.ac.uk

Contact details of the independent adviser Name of adviser: Dr Rebecca Finkel

Email: rfinkel@qmu.ac.uk

Page 2: Page 1

1. What volunteer programme were you involved with? Select as many as relevant *Required*

Please select at least 1 answer(s).

- ☐ Frontrunner
- ☐ Clydesider
- ☐ Host City
- ☐ Cast Member
- ☐ Queens Baton Relay
- ☐ Other

1.a. If other please say below...

1.b. For how long did you volunteer within this role(s)? *Required*

1.c. Had you volunteered before being involved in this role(s)? *Required*

2. Below are some statements about feelings and thoughts.

Please select the box that best describes you for each **BEFORE** participating in Games related volunteering *Required*

Please don't select more than 1 answer(s) per row.

Please select at least 14 answer(s).

	None of the time	Rarely	Some of the time	Often	All of the time
I've been feeling optimistic about the future	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been feeling useful	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been feeling relaxed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been feeling interested in other people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've had energy to spare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been dealing with problems well	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been thinking clearly	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been feeling good about myself	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been feeling close to other people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been feeling confident	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been able to make up my own mind about things	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been feeling loved	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been interested in new things	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been feeling cheerful	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3. Can you describe your experience in being involved in the XX Glasgow 2014 Commonwealth Games?

4. How do you think this experience will affect your future, if at all?

Required

- ☐ Gained new skills
- ☐ Into employment
- ☐ Socialising/new social opportunities
- ☐ Would volunteer again
- ☐ It won't
- ☐ Other

4.a. Can you provide a bit more information or, if you selected Other, please specify:

5. What impact will the Games have your life? e.g. has it changed anything for you? Or not? Do you do anything you didn't before or are planning on?

Page 3

6. What would you consider to be impacts for/on Glasgow/Scotland/your own community?

7. Would you consider being involved in similar events? *Required*

- ☐ Yes - large/major events
- ☐ Yes - local/community events
- ☐ No
- ☐ Maybe



8. Please now think about **AFTER** participating in Games related volunteering and select the box that best describes you for each statement *Required*

Please don't select more than 1 answer(s) per row.

	None of the time	Rarely	Some of the time	Often	All of the time
I've been feeling optimistic about the future	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been feeling useful	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been feeling relaxed	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been feeling interested in other people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've had energy to spare	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been dealing with problems well	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been thinking clearly	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been feeling good about myself	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been feeling close to other people	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been feeling confident	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been able to make up my own mind about things	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been feeling loved	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been interested in new things	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
I've been feeling cheerful	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

8.a. If your feelings and thoughts have changed, how long do you expect these changes to last? *Required*

- ☐ Days
- ☐ Week
- ☐ Months
- ☐ Years
- ☐ Longer
- ☐ Unsure

9. How would you rate Glasgow 2014's effort in hosting this event?
Required

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral	Dissatisfied	Very dissatisfied	
Very satisfied						Very dissatisfied

9.a. Can you tell me why you think that?

10. Have you volunteered since being involved in a Glasgow 2014 Volunteer Programme? *Required*

- ☐ Yes - large/major events
- ☐ Yes - local/community setting
- ☐ Not yet but I plan to
- ☐ No

11. If you had volunteered previously, since your involvement in a Glasgow 2014 Volunteer Programme do you now volunteer...

- ☐ More often
- ☐ Less often
- ☐ The same amount

12. I identify my gender as... *Required*

13. Age *Required*

- ☐ 16 - 19
- ☐ 20 - 24
- ☐ 25 - 34
- ☐ 35 - 44
- ☐ 45 - 54
- ☐ 55 - 64
- ☐ 65 +

14. Employment status, please select all that apply

- ☐ Employed
- ☐ Unemployment
- ☐ Retired
- ☐ Student
- ☐ Job seeking
- ☐ Volunteer
- ☐ Self-employed

15. Can you think of anything else I should have asked you? Or, anything that you would like to add?

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Thank you very much for your participation in this survey!

If you have any questions, please contact me at bsharp@qmu.ac.uk

12.4 Appendix 4 – Interview themes



Queen Margaret University
EDINBURGH

Interview Themes

1. Describe your involvement with Glasgow 2014
2. Can you describe your experiences of being involved with Glasgow 2014?
3. What are your thoughts surrounding Games legacy? And planned legacy?
4. What importance do you believe legacy has?
5. Can you describe the legacy of the games for you? And professionally/for your organisation?
6. For your initiative, tell me about the community engagement required.
7. Tell me about the community response, in relation to your organisation/initiative? Has community support been positive? Challenges?
8. What would consider to be any potential impacts or outcomes for/on Glasgow and its community from the Games?
9. In terms of legacy, what are your thought on a social legacy from the Games?
10. What are your thoughts on urban regeneration through major events?
11. Describe what social regeneration through major event means to you
12. What are your thoughts on Glasgow 2014's effort in terms of regeneration legacy?
Considering this was its largest event?
13. Would you consider being involved in similar initiatives?
14. Tell me about any recommendations you can give for future events/event host cities?
15. Is there anything you would like to add? Anything I should have asked you?

12.5 Appendix 5 – Focus group topic



Queen Margaret University

EDINBURGH

Focus Group Themes

1. Describe your involvement with Glasgow 2014
2. Can you describe your experience of being involved with Glasgow 2014?
3. Tell me about the community support you have felt, if any, in relation to (insert organisation, initiative etc)
4. How do you believe your involvement with Glasgow 2014 will affect your future?
5. Can you describe the legacy of the games for you?
6. Social element of legacy
7. Describe what social regeneration through major events means to you
8. Tell me about any potential impacts for/on Glasgow and its community
9. Would you consider being involved in similar initiatives?
10. What are your thoughts on Glasgow 2014's effort in terms of regeneration legacy of its largest event?

12.6 Appendix 6 – WEMBWS Copyright

The Warwick-Edinburgh Mental Well-being Scale (WEMWBS)

Below are some statements about feelings and thoughts.

Please tick the box that best describes your experience of each over the last 2 weeks

STATEMENTS	None of the time	Rarely	Some of the time	Often	All of the time
I've been feeling optimistic about the future	1	2	3	4	5
I've been feeling useful	1	2	3	4	5
I've been feeling relaxed	1	2	3	4	5
I've been feeling interested in other people	1	2	3	4	5
I've had energy to spare	1	2	3	4	5
I've been dealing with problems well	1	2	3	4	5
I've been thinking clearly	1	2	3	4	5
I've been feeling good about myself	1	2	3	4	5
I've been feeling close to	1	2	3	4	5
other people					
I've been feeling confident	1	2	3	4	5
I've been able to make up my own mind about things	1	2	3	4	5
I've been feeling loved	1	2	3	4	5
I've been interested in new things	1	2	3	4	5
I've been feeling cheerful	1	2	3	4	5

“Warwick Edinburgh Mental Well-Being Scale (WEMWBS)

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